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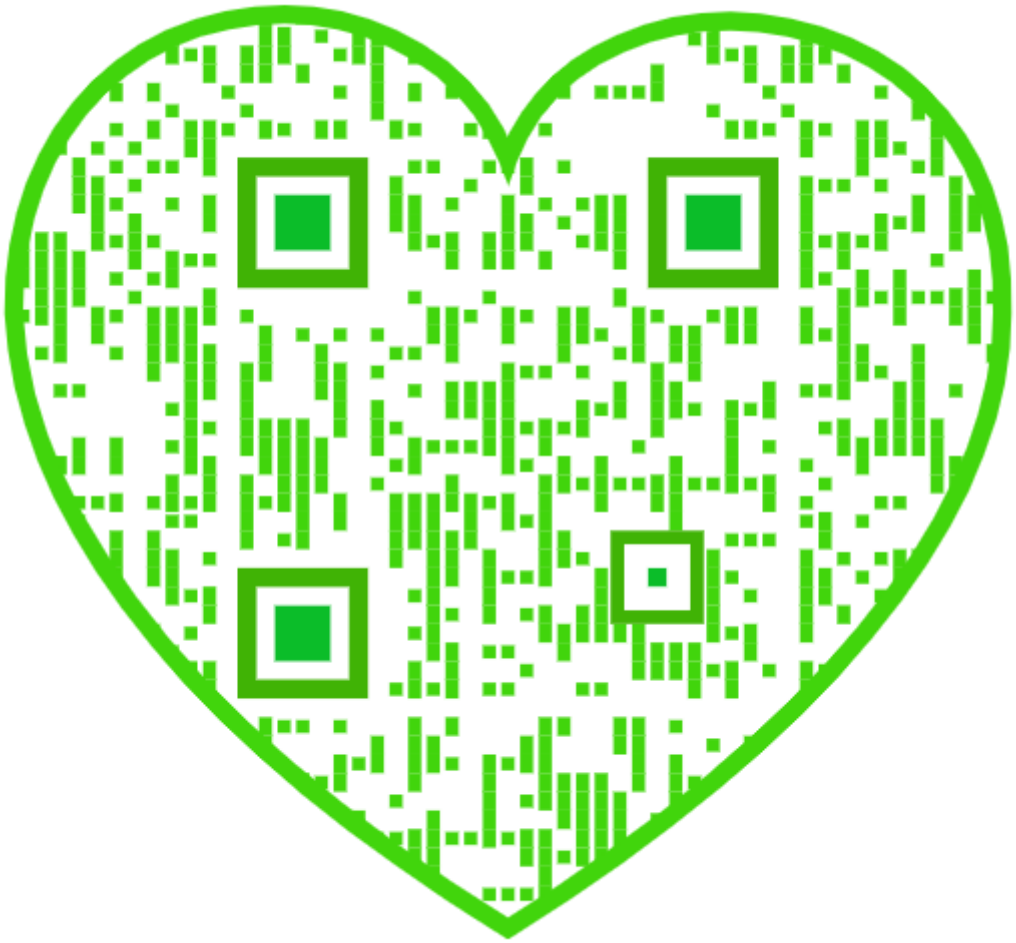

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N. Sanderus, *De visibili monarchia Ecclesiae* (Louanii, 1571)
Theol. 357
PRINTERS' DEVICE USED BY FOWLER

A. Copus, *Syntaxis historiae evangelicae...* (Louanii, 1572)
Theol. 415
PRINTERS' DEVICE USED BY FOWLER

John Fowler, English printer and bookseller in the low countries (1564-1579)

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The career of John Fowler, who was by far the most prominent English printer in Flanders in the sixteenth century, has not yet been studied in detail and, in addition, such material as has been presented in a few recent concise surveys is on the whole not very reliable[1]. It has therefore been my aim in the following pages to present a more or less chronological and detailed survey of Fowler's life in the light of new documentary evidence and to combine that account with material from a number of printed works which are not easily accessible. While generally speaking we know very little of the early sixteenth-century printers, we are more fortunate with respect to John Fowler because very soon after his arrival in the Low Countries he began to get his own printing-house under way and to contribute a few pamphlets to the steady stream of controversial writings so characteristic of the age, an activity which has left traces both in archives and in early printed works. Before

1 Marc Lefèvre, 'Libraires belges en relations commerciales avec Christophe Plantin et Jean Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, XLI (1963), 29 and Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop, 1975), pp. 64-5.

discussing the printer's life in detail, I have thought it advisable first to present it in brief outline.

John Fowler was born in Bristol in 1537, educated at Winchester School and New College, Oxford, and took the degree of M.A. The wife of John Fowler was Alice Harris, the daughter of John Harris, who had been secretary to Sir Thomas More, which partly explains why Fowler was from the start a man who was marked out alongside those who would give their wholehearted support to the catholic cause. As will appear from evidence to be presented later, it was in 1564 that he left his home country because of the laws of prosecution promulgated in England against catholics. Arriving in Louvain some time in that year, he stayed there approximately until February-March 1566 and then left for Antwerp where he is traceable in the Happaertstraat from 3 April 1566. Shortly after the iconoclastic riots, which occurred in Antwerp in August 1566, he must have moved to Louvain where he was to stay until 1573, the date of his second journey to Antwerp falling between late March and the beginning of June 1573. In 1577 he travelled more than once to Douay - a university town which was to remain a part of the Spanish Netherlands for another ninety years - and settled there from early September 1577. His stay in Douay was interrupted for a brief period - probably from March to November 1578 - during which he was probably in Rheims, France. His death occurred in Namur on 13 February 1579. We learn this exact date from John Pits (1560-1616), the Roman catholic divine and biographer, whose testimony is certainly trustworthy considering the terms in which it was made in his *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tomus Primus* (1619). The end of the notice headed *De Ioanne Foulero* runs as follows:

> Confessor in exilio diem suum obijt Namurci decimo tertio die Februarij, & in cemiterio S. Ioannis Euangelistae iuxta socerum suum Ioannem Harrisium sepultus iacet, vt ex Aliciae coniugis litteris accepi. Annus autem obitus eius fuit nati Seruatoris 1579, dum Anglicani regni sceptrum teneret Elizabetha. (*Relat. hist.*, Paris, 1619, repr. 1969, p. 772)

It is no longer possible to check this statement against entries in the parochial registers of Namur, since there appears to be a gap in

them of about twenty years stretching from 1574 to 1594[2]. Furthermore, the church of Saint John the Evangelist, where Fowler was buried, was torn down in 1750 so that, with regard to this circumstance too, the few details of Fowler's death recorded by Pits remain at present the only ones available. The life of Fowler in Flanders had best be discussed in two sections, one covering the early years until about the middle of 1573, the date of his second move to Antwerp, the other dealing with the later period, a study of which will enable us to include an account of the later fortunes of the printing-house as this was run by his widow, Alice Fowler. There are two main sources from which Fowler's life and works can be reconstructed, both preserved in the General Archives in Brussels: the printing-licences contained in *carton* 1276 of the Spanish Privy Council and the information that can be drawn from registers of the *Conseil Privé Autrichien* where we find entries concerning printers and the privileges they received. These two sources can of course be supplemented by the material contained in the works whose publication was sponsored by Fowler himself, their dedications being particularly significant.

I. The early years

The first notice we have of Fowler's presence is in Louvain in May 1565. From entries made in the accounts ‘vanden prouffyten vanden zegele in Brabant’, preserved in the General Archives in Brussels and published by P. Verheyden, it appears that on 5 May 1565 he paid 25/6 at Louvain for the privilege of printing and selling books, a commission he showed to Plantin in 1570 (for more about this commission see the second part of this study). The relevant entry is quite explicit in stating that Thomas Stephanus and

2 See F. Ladrier, ‘Les anciens registres paroissiaux de la ville de Namur déposés aux archives de l'état’, *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, XLI (1970), 62 ff. I wish to thank Mr. F. Jacques of Namur who was so kind as to try to find relevant evidence in the Namur archives themselves, a search which likewise proved unsuccessful.

Fowler are both printers and booksellers[3]. In the following pages the problem of deciding whether the books commonly associated with Fowler were published or sold by him is, in most cases, to remain unsolved. Nevertheless, we will see that the archive material concerning him leaves not the least doubt that he was active as a printer both in Louvain and in Antwerp. But not until we possess an exhaustive comparative study of sixteenth century printing types as they were used by individual printers will we be able to assign books to the printing-shop of a given printer. Certain printing types were apparently so widely used as to leave little room for identifying individual printers. Great caution needs to be exercised in using typographical material as a basis for inquiry and I have therefore ventured only a few tentative conclusions from my excursions into this field. Yet some of the printed items presently to be discussed can with some confidence be assigned to Fowler's printing establishment. In order to help further bibliographical study, information concerning their location in some Belgian libraries will be included and abbreviations used are as follows: RLB (Royal Library Brussels), ULG (University Library Ghent), ULL (University Library Louvain), PLA (Plantin Library Antwerp), all to be followed by press-marks. But it should be borne in mind that the location list makes no claim to be exhaustive.

Of the items certainly printed by Fowler in 1565 there is a single-sheet folio, now preserved among the *Lansdowne Manuscripts* in the British Museum, that has survived (Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MSS, XCVI, 56). The sheet, which is not recorded in the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books....* 1475-1640 (ed. by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, London, repr. 1950), is inscribed in manuscript: ‘Pretended Sects among Lutheran / Heresyes condemned / Exercises at Lovain / Stapleton /,’ and the printed title runs: ‘Molles ac Politici Luterani, qui à Luteri dogmatibus plurimum recesserunt,

3 P. Verheyden, ‘Drukkersoctrooien in de 16e eeuw’, *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, VIII (Antwerp, 1910), p. 220. The original entry runs: ‘Van een commissie om prenten ende boeckvercoopen voere Thomas Stephanus ende Jannen Foulier Ingelsche’. See the accounts of the ‘prouffyten vanden zegele in Brabant’ under the date of 7 May 1565 in the *Chambre des Comptes* in the General Archives in Brussels (reg. 20791, fol. 16).

ea tantum admittentes, quae ipsis probantur. / Hi volent mansueti, hominesq*ue* prae caeteris cordatiores videri, & quoquo modo cum omnibus alijs sectis pacem / colere. Diuiduntur autem in sectas decem. / The imprint of the sheet proudly displays Fowler's newly acquired dignity: 'Louanij apud eundem Jo. Foulerum Typographum iuratum. / CUM PRIVILEGIO. / *Anno* 1565. /.' To conclude his enumeration of sects Fowler explains in a final paragraph that he took the list from *The Apology* of Fridericus Staphylus, a book printed by J. Latius in Antwerp in 1565. This paragraph offers striking evidence of the interest Fowler took in religious controversy, especially when the debate was conducted in councils in which members of the higher nobility played an important part. In fact, Staphylus had acted as one of the Emperor Ferdinand's councillors.

> In ipsis veri euangelij primordijs, vt Apostolica Acta testantur, Credentium erat cor vnum, & anima vna. Vides autem (pie lector) huius adulterini ac abortiui euangelij vnitatem. Hinc quàm sit illud verum ac vero simile, facilè deprehenderis. Autore Frederico Staphylo Luteri quondam auditore, posteà veró Ferdinandi Catholici nuper Imperatoris Conciliario dignissimo. Ex cuius Apologia in hanc formam redacta est haec Tabula, primúm quidem Anglicè, opera Thomae Stapletoni, nunc veró Latinè edita opera Ioannis Fouleri.

The interesting thing here is that Fowler was bent on setting himself up as a Latin controversialist, as will appear from a further entry in the registers of the Austrian Privy Council, to be discussed later.

The first major work with the printing history of which the name of John Fowler can be connected is Nicholas Sander's *The Supper of our Lord*, of which the first edition appeared in 1565 and the second in 1566 (RLB: V.B. 2209(3)A), though Fowler's name did not appear in either of the respective imprints. The second edition, however, carried a colophon which told prospective readers that the work was on sale 'Louanii, 1566, Apud Ioannem Foulerum'. Further light can be shed on the fortunes of *The Supper of our Lord* by means of the important entry of this work in registers of the *Conseil Privé Autrichien.* As has already been pointed out, evidence concerning people who sought *approbationes* from those in authority

is contained in these registers and most of the relevant entries were enumerated and succinctly discussed by Michel Baelde in an important article[4]. A closer inspection of the entry concerning *The Supper of our Lord* will prove rewarding and this is why I have thought it useful to reproduce it almost in its entirety[5]. The first point it reveals is that Sander had been granted permission to print *The Supper of our Lord* in August 1565, that is to say about three months after Fowler had been given permission to print and sell books. The first *imprimatur* was passed under the hands of Petri Cunerus on 7 August 1565. The entry further shows that, while the six books of this work were being printed, bishop John Jewel's *A Replie unto M. Hardinges Answeare* [to the sermon on 1 Cor. xi. 23] (London, 1565) had fallen into Sander's hands and that therefore

4 M. Baelde, 'De toekenning van drukkersoctrooien door de Geheime Raad in de zestiende eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, XL (1962), 19-58 and the chapter on 'Censorship and Privileges' in L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, vol. II (Amsterdam, 1972), 255-278.

5 *Conseil Privé Espagnol* (henceforth abbreviated to *CPA*), register 673, f^{o} 189 v^{o}-190 r^{o} has the following entry (with the omission of some of the conventional phraseology and some merely repetitious material indicated by three dots). In this and the following transcripts of documents, contractions have been expanded, *u* and *v* have been modernized and, to facilitate reading, accents have been added. Capital letters are not always easily distinguishable from small letters and the distinction is therefore mostly disregarded.
'Opde supplicatie overgegeven inden secreten Raedt Sconincx van wegen Nicolaes Saunder, Ingelsch doctor inder godtheyt Inhoudende hoe alzoe Inde maendt van Augusto lestleden hem gepermitteert es geweest te moegen doen prenten zekeren boeck by hem gemaect van het Auontmael ons heeren geintituleert The Supper of our lord sett furthe In six boecken accordinghe to the truth of the godspell and faythe of the Catholike curche gedeelt In zes boecxkens ende hy geoccupeert was om den selven te doen prenten heeft gevonden zekeren anderen heretyck boeck oick In Ingelsche taele tegens zynen voers. boeck. Omme den welcken te refuteren, hy suppliant gemaect heeft eenen anderen boeck geIntituleert The Confutation of Mr. Jewels Replie against doctor Harding concerning the Real presence de welcke hy geerne zoude doen prenten metten voirs. zes andere zyne boecxkens versoeckende daeromme oirloff ende consent om tvoers. zevenste boecxken in een volume te moegen doen drucken ende vercoopen..... met de ander zes voers. boecxkens ghevisiteert by mr. Cunnerus Petri doctor Inder godtheyt... ende dat by eenen gezwoeren drucker by hem suppliant te nemen residerende binnen dese onse voers. landen van herwaertsovere... Behoudelick dat de voers. drucker schuldich zal zyn hem in desen te reguleren navolgende dordonnantie gemaect opt feyt vande prenters. Ghedaen te Bruessele den xxii^{en} dach van december anno 1565.'

he had decided to add a seventh book to his treatise, which was submitted for approval to the above-mentioned Dr. Petri Cunerus, a Louvain theologian whose part in the controversies of the time, as will appear later, was a singularly active one. And, finally, we are told that Sander was asked to choose his own 'sworn' printer and indeed who but John Fowler, the fellow-countryman who had just recently been granted a licence, could Sander have chosen? This undoubtedly accounts for the colophon appearing in the second edition of *The Supper of our Lord*, which, of course, need not necessarily mean that it was of Fowler's own printing, but certainly implies it was on sale at his shop.

The 'approbatio septimi libri' to be found in *The Supper* runs as follows: 'Quoniam librum istum legerunt, & approbant viri sacrae Theologiae & idiomatis Anglici eruditissimi, quibus ego summam hac in re fidem deberi iudicio, tuto & utiliter emitti potest. Cunerus Petri, Pastor Sancti Petri Louanij. 20. Decemb. Anno 1565.' The help of English theologians residing in Louvain had apparently been called in by Cunerus and two days later the printing of *The Supper* could be approved by the Privy Council.

A book the publication of which must, for all practical purposes, have coincided with that of *The Supper* is Robert Pointz' *Testimonies for the Real Presence* because at the end of the volume we find an *imprimatur* which tells us that it was licensed by 'Cunerus Petri, Pastor sancti Petri Louanij 7. August. Anno 1565.' There is also a statement that it was brought for approval before the Privy Council on 20 August 1565, but nothing of this seems to have survived in *CPA* entries.

In point of fact both *The Supper* and the *Testimonies* were submitted simultaneously to Cunerus and a few days later to the Privy Council, and they both appeared early in 1566 while Fowler was still in Louvain. At this point in the argument a short historical introduction would seem to be appropriate.

The final session of the Council of Trent had taken place in 1562, the year which saw the outbreak of the French wars of religion. In France itself the policy of Catherine de Medici had always been governed by her desire to avoid the outbreak of violence by every

means in her power and in 1563, as Miss Frances A. Yates[6] writes, she was to describe the aim of her life as 'moderer par quelques doux & gracieux moyens l'aigreur qui est auiourdhuy parmy les Peuples, pour les differends de la Religion'. It therefore comes as no surprise to learn that in subsequent years this mood of reconciliation and moderation also appeared in Flanders. Thus one of the questions that had become of great current interest in the years 1564-1566 was also whether those who wished to promote a given religious conviction were allowed to use force. We hear about this, for example, in a letter of Dominicus Lampsonius, the well-known Bruges humanist, who as secretary to the Prince-Bishops of Liège played an important part in the spiritual life of the times. In the course of a long letter (dated 4 July 1565) written to William Cecil, Principal Secretary under Queen Elizabeth, he reminded Cecil in passing of the gravity of the problem posed by Thomas More: *Utrum ad religionis persuasionem vis externa adhibenda sit*[7].

John Fowler, ardent admirer of More that he was, must, for this and many other reasons, have frequently turned this problem over in his mind, and, with the power of the sectaries and the Calvinist factions steadily growing, he was soon bound to enter the arena of controversy, which he did with a treatise entitled *An bene sub pretextu reformande religionis arma sumpserunt sectarii nostri temporis* (Whether it is a good thing for the sectaries of our time to take up arms under pretext of reforming religion). Though this work does not seem to have survived in print, there is not the least doubt of its existence in manuscript, for in register 673 of the *Conseil Privé Autrichien* we find the following entry under the date 9 January 1565/66, showing that his *boecxken* was submitted for publication.

> Opde supplicatie overgegeven inden Secreten Raede Sconincx van weghen Joannes Foulerus verzouckende oirloff ende consent om te moeghen doen drucken zekeren boecxken by hem gemaeckt geIntituleert An bene sub pretextu Reformande Religionis arma sumpserunt sectarij n*ost*ri temporis

6 F.A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, The Warburg Institute, 1947), p. 200.

7 See Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed. *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le règne de Philippe II* (11 vols., Brussels, 1882-1900), IV, 218.

> ende tzelve te v*er*coepen ende distribueren daert hem goet duncken zal. Zyne Ma.^{t} naer dat by de behoirlicke visitatie ende attestatie tvoirs. boecxken bevonden es geweest goet te zyne ende gheen erreur Inhoudende tegens, onsen keersten geloove, heeft den voers. Suppli*ant* gepermitteert en*de* gheconsenteert, Consenteert ende permitteert hem gevende oirloff en*de* consent buyt sonderlinge gratie tzelve boecxken In Latynsche taele te moegen doen prenten by eenen gezwoeren boeckprenter van herwaertsover ende tzelve te vercoopen ende distribueren allomme daert hem goetduncken zal. Sonder daeromme eenichsins tegens zyne Ma.^{t} te mesdoene Ghedaen te Bruessele den ix^{en} dach van Januario 1565. (*CPA*, reg. 673, fol. 191)

It is practically certain that Fowler knew that there would be an adequate response to his pamphlet for very soon there appeared in print a small quarto volume the title-page of which I here transcribe: *ORATIO PETRI / FRARINI ANTVER*- / PIENSIS ARTIUM MA-/GISTRI ET V.I. BAC-/CALAVREI./ *Quòd malè*, *reformandae re-/ligionis nomine*, *arma sum-/pserunt Sectarij nostri tem-poris*./ HABITA IN SCHOLIS / ARTIUM, Louanij, 19. Calendas / Ianuarij. Anno 1565./ [Printer's device] /LOVANII,/ *Apud Joannem Foulerum* / M.D.L.XVI. (RLB: V.B. 10204, II. 7; ULG: Acc. Meul. 1566(II); PLA: B 1442). Fowler began the title of his treatise with *An benè* and Peter Frarin[8] replied that it was a bad thing for sectaries to take up arms (*Quod malè.....*).

The motives that impelled Fowler and Frarin to join in the controversy are not far to seek. It was in fact in the first years of Fowler's residence in Flanders that he was faced with the intense political and religious strife which shook the society of his day to its foundations. I refer of course to the events of the year 1566 which reached their climax in the iconoclastic riots starting in Steenvoorde on 10 August and in Antwerp on 20 August of that year, riots that were to spread rapidly throughout Flanders. The background to the genesis of Fowler's and Frarin's treatises is therefore worth describing in somewhat more detail.

8 Peter Frarin was a lawyer from Antwerp. In the dedication of his work he states that he visited France in 1564-65 and saw Orléans, Tours and Angers. We find him enrolled as a law student at the Falcon College in Louvain on 26 August 1561. I have not been able to learn more about him.

The sixteenth century, particularly its second half, was an age of faction, the diffusion of the Lutheran doctrines having brought in its wake a profusion of dissident literature. As early as 1512 we have evidence of the government's controlling the output of the press but it was particularly the Edicts of Charles V, proclaimed at regular intervals from 1521 onwards, which did most to stamp out heretical and seditious opinion as expressed in printed books. There were of course many later ordinances, among which the Edict of 29 April 1550 again forbade the printing of tracts or books defending the reformed religion. In England, on the contrary, the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 had ushered in a period of greater freedom, at least for those who were prepared to recognize the Queen's position as the Supreme Head of the Anglican Church. England's relations with Rome in the period dealt with here have been treated in great detail by C.G. Bayne[9]. Repeated efforts were made by the Papal Curia and its adherents to make England return to the church of Rome. Space forbids my dealing here at length with the negotiations pursued in the attempt to achieve reconciliation with Rome. Suffice it to say that the Louvain theologians had even proposed to the Council of Trent in the early months of 1563 that Queen Elizabeth be deposed, her excommunication by the Pope being considered a few months later. An important stage in the development of the conflict is a letter of Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Ferdinand (dated 3 November 1563) which is of great historical interest and to which C.G. Bayne has drawn attention. It contained ‘the English government's official justification of their treatment of the catholics’, and referred ‘in angry terms to the imprisoned bishops[10].’ In other words, Queen Elizabeth found it impossible to extend the grant of her toleration any longer, and this is why a certain number of confirmed catholics were to leave the country, among whom we may certainly include John Fowler.

To add to the burden of difficulties for the exiles, in Flanders itself commercial conditions were about to change for the worse because in the years 1563-64 trade relations with England were

9 C.G. Bayne, *Anglo-Roman Relations* 1558-1565 (Oxford, 1913, repr. 1968).

10 C.G. Bayne, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

broken off. On the other hand, support for the new religion was steadily growing and, in addition, there came into being a great revival of Anabaptism, so much so that according to some, papistry was turning into anabaptistry[11]. One of the theological questions frequently and hotly debated concerned the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Nicholas Sander, one of Fowler's brothers-in-arms, was to devote one of his works to it. When the Diet of Augsburg in March 1566 - attended by Sander - failed in its avowed purpose of restoring unity and understanding among religious factions both in the Empire and in the Netherlands the time was ripe for the iconoclastic outrages of August 1566. So-called sectarianism had struck roots in Antwerp and elsewhere, and the virulent preachers of the sects began to hold gatherings in the open fields outside the city walls. Their inflammatory speeches incited the religious enthusiasts of the day to acts of violence leading to an unprecedented destruction of images and churches throughout Flanders. It is during the prelude to this outbreak of violence, when black clouds were gathering on the political horizon, that we see John Fowler at work trying to stem the tide of the sectarian movement by coming forward as a champion of the Counter-Reformation, not only as a printer but also as a writer. It is this historical context which explains why Frarin, in a dedicatory epistle of more than ten pages, had decided to present his *Oratio* to a young nobleman, Charles-Philip of Croy.

Charles-Philip of Croy, marquis of Havré (1549-1613) was the posthumous son of Philip of Croy, first duke of Aarschot (1496-1549). At his birth he had been given the christian names of Charles and Philip, in honour of the Emperor Charles and Philip of Spain. In fact, Havré's father had been sent to welcome Philip of Spain on his arrival in the Netherlands in 1549 and entertained both the emperor and his son in his castle at Chimay. Charles-Philip of Croy had in 1566 turned seventeen. About the same period this young man seems to have been a focus of adulation on the part of several humanists and historians. There was first Petrus Divaeus (Peter van Dieve), who dedicated his *De Galliae*

11 See *Hatfield MSS*, Vol. I (London, 1883), p. 269.

Belgicae Antiquitatibus (Antwerp, 1566) to the marquis of Havré (date of the dedication, 18 April 1565); a more important author was Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, whose *Valerii Maximi Dictorum Factorumque Memorabilium Libri IX* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1567) was likewise inscribed to Havré[12]. Pighius maintained friendly relations with Plantin, who, in 1561, had published Pighius' *Tabula Magistratuum Romanorum.* It was through Pighius, for more than fourteen years secretary and librarian to Cardinal Granvelle, that Plantin was to obtain closer contact with the famous prelate when after 1566 the Antwerp printer was living under suspicion of heresy for some time. The interesting point of connection in all these personal contacts is that the marquis of Havré, to whom Frarin dedicated his *Oratio* and Pighius his edition of Valerius Maximus in 1566, was known to Pighius through Havré's mother who was one of those often visited by Cardinal Granvelle before the time when the Cardinal, under pressure from the nobility, was forced to leave the Netherlands for good[13]. In an eloquent passage flattering to Havré, Pighius explained that he met the young nobleman ‘in comitatu amplissimi patroni mei Cardinalis Granvellani, cum is Bruxellae nobilissimam illam heroinam virtutum omnium cumulo ornatissimam matrem tuam, negotiorum vel officii causa, visitare soleret, tuque illi adeunti frequenter honoris gratia occurreres’. That Havré was a *persona grata* with those who held highest office in the land appears from the fact that he had been sent to welcome Alexander Farnese and the count of Egmont on their arrival in Brussels on 30 April 1565. Farnese - whose mother was Margaret of Parma, the Regent of the Netherlands - and Egmont had returned from Spain, Egmont having been sent there to present to Philip II an account of the grievances of the country[14].

Though Peter Frarin, in his dedication to Havré, makes it plain that he does not know the young nobleman personally, it is obvious

12 The text of this dedicatory letter, dated 13 August 1566, will be found reprinted in *Stephani Vinandi Pighii Epistolarium*, ed. H. De Vocht (Louvain, 1959), p. 107.

13 On this episode see L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I, 55.

14 See Léon van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, *Prince de Parme*, *Gouverneur Général des Pays-Bas* (1545-1592) (5 vols., Brussels, 1933-1937), I, 109-110.

that it was through him that he was sure to find a favourable hearing with Margaret of Parma. Though her name is not explicitly mentioned, the references Frarin makes to Havré's *egregia Domina* and to the fact that the great virtues of Havré's *humanissima Domina* had provoked him to publish his *Oratio* make it abundantly clear that this great Mistress is Margaret of Parma[15]. Of far greater interest is the fact that the dedication to Havré represents a historical document which has been overlooked by students of the period. The remarkable thing is that Frarin offered his *Oratio* as a new year's gift to Margaret of Parma *(obsequij ac beneuolentiae causa*, *straenas offerre egregiae D. tuae*, *hoc ineuntis anni primordio).* The gift of the printed work was intended for the New Year, 1566, but the *Oratio* itself was delivered *viva voce* in Louvain in December before a select audience. But the *Oratio* and its dedication take on an entirely different significance if we bear in mind that the foundations of the famous *Compromis des Nobles* (the Covenant of the Noblemen) were laid on Sunday 18 November 1565[16]. It was on that day that Franciscus Du Jon preached a sermon in the house of the Count of Culemborg before a group of about twenty representatives of the lesser nobility. It was also on that very day that the nuptial banquet of Alexander Farnese was taking place in the Brussels Town Hall in the presence of a large gathering of the great noblemen of the country. Peter Frarin may therefore be looked upon as the catholic counterpart of Franciscus du Jon (Junius), a dissenting minister who was the pastor of the secret congregation of Huguenots at Antwerp and who had been invited to Brussels to preach. It was after Du Jon's sermon that the noblemen resolved to form a league against the Inquisition and that the first decisions were taken with a view to forming the *Compromis des Nobles.* This

15 Frarin paints a gruesome picture of the atrocities he had seen during a recent visit to France. The end of his dedicatory epistle, dated 'Louanij, Calendis Ianuarij, Anno. 1566.', apostrophises Margaret of Parma as 'Illustri D. Tuae, nobilis iuuentutis lumini, vitam longam, incolumen, foelicemque precor'. A passage where Frarin addresses Havré points out significantly that the marquis is *nobilium adolescentum princeps*, the whole epistle showing that Havré was looked upon as a man to whom in the future the country might appeal in its hour of need.

16 Authorities have disagreed as to the date when Du Jon preached. L. van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, I, 139 favours the date mentioned above.

historic occasion may well be being glanced at in the following passage of Frarin's *Oratio.*

> Prodeat ergo sub Magnifici tui nominis auspicio, nobilissime Carole, in lucem, quod dixi contra nobilium omnium, totiusque nobilitatis hostes, contra illos homines, qui inuitis principibus publicae administrationis gubernaculo manus nefarias admouent, qui summam Rerumpublicarum suae voluntatis arbitrio quasi velitatione quadam transuersa agunt in scopulos qui Regibus sceptra extorquere conantur e manibus, qui xtinguere penitus laborant stemmata nobilium nobilesque familias omnes.

Frarin's *Oratio* carries in its imprint the words *Lovanii*, *Apud Ioannem Foulerum*, which obviously need not mean that Fowler was the printer of the *Oratio* but which certainly suggests that the work was on sale at his shop in Louvain. The *Oratio* apparently impressed Fowler, so much so that he embarked upon a translation, to which he prefaced an Epistle to the Reader which calls attention to the origin of the *Oratio.* This translation is entitled *An Oration Against the Unlawfull Insurrections of the Protestants of Our Time* (R L B: L.P. 384A). The *Oratio* originated, Fowler observes, in a ‘laudable custome’ of the University of Louvain, ‘which is yearly observed there’, that in the month of December all ordinary lessons cease for the space of one whole week, and ‘in place thereof some learned man is chosen by common assent to be the President of certaine Disputations’. In the margin these discussions are called *Disputationes Quodlibeticae*, which calls attention to medieval precedent whereby arguments were advanced ‘for both partes of the questions, and leaving to the iudgment of the Respondent to chuse whiche parte he liketh best (whereof those exercises have theyr name) and the next daye folowing in that place to handle the same Rethoricallie the space of two houres together’. John Fowler had found a friend in Frarin for he continues: ‘Amonge diuerse other, this laste December, there, a learned man toward the Law called M. Peter Frarin borne in Antwerp made an Oration against the Insurrections of the Protestantes and Sectes of our time not without greate commendation, which, at the earnest requeste of his frindes, he suffered to be afterwarde printed’. Fowler conferred with Frarin and decided to embark on a translation ‘with the aduise

of the Author', a translation which appeared on its title-page with his printing-device and the imprint *Antverpiae. Ex officina Ioannis Fouleri.* M.D.L.X.V.I. This imprint suggests clearly that Fowler had set up a printingshop of his own in Antwerp. A similar imprint appears in John Rastell's *A Treatise Intitled*, *Beware of M. Iewel*, but for this book an entry of license has been preserved in a register of the *Conseil Privé Autrichien.* Its printing was authorised on 8 March 1566 by Petri Cunerus, who had also acted as the censor of Sander's *Supper of our Lord*, and who, we now learn from the *CPA* entry for Rastell's *Treatise*, was the head priest of St. Peter's Church in Louvain[17]. He was born in Duivendijke in Zealand in 1531 but is often found styled *Brouwershaviensis* in documents of the time. From this as well as from his earlier intervention as censor it is clear that Cunerus was a keen defender of the doctrine of transubstantiation and particularly in the form embodied in Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xi. 23). As regards Fowler himself, on the other hand, there are two entries in ledgers and journals of Plantin for the year 1566 which confirm that Fowler had changed his residence and had set up as a printer. The first is the more informative. Under the date '1566. Le 3e d'Avril en Anvers' there is an entry with the following statement: 'Ledit à Johannes Fouler Imprimeur Anglois Inde Happer straete. - 30. Blosij tiro spiritualis 16^{o} Lovanij blanc. 15 st. sur quoy il disoit nous avoir rendu 1 Breviar à 15 st. Il est saldé', while the second entry, under the date 20 July, reads 'Ledit à Jehan Fouller Anglois. De officio pij viri 8^{o} blanc st. 1½. Il est compté et saldé'[18].

Petri Cunerus probably authorised the publication of a few more books after Sander's *Supper of our Lord* and Rastell's *Treatise*, but his name does not reappear in *CPA* entries until 2 August 1567, when he licensed a number of homilies by Laberius Daneus. This is

17 *CPA*, reg. 673, fol. 192 v^{o}.

18 Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Journal*, *Archives* 44, p. 40b and *Arch.* 44, p. 98. The second entry has a marginal note: 'Auons en commission et garde'. The printing-shop was in the Happaertstraat, a street opened in 1550 on the property of squire Jan Happaert (died in 1561), after whom the street was named. The street has retained its original name to this day. See F. Prims and M. Verbeeck, *Antwerpsch Straatnamenboek* (Antwerp, 1926), p. 127. *De Officio pii viri* is a book by Johannes Hessels (Plantin, 8^{o}, 1566).

understandable in view of the tense situation created by the religious disturbances of the year 1566 in which events Cunerus can be shown not to have been a mere observer. Early in August 1566 feelings ran particularly high in Antwerp and so Petri Cunerus, too, chose to make Antwerp his temporary home in order to be in the thick of the fray. The contacts pointed out earlier indeed make it likely that Cunerus and Fowler were acquainted with one another. Early in August 1566 Cunerus became involved in a violent dispute with another priest at a time when field-preachings were being held in a place called 'the Kelle', that is the Kiel, a suburb of Antwerp 'aboutt an enggleshe myll with houtt the towne.' We learn of this from a letter written on 11 August by Richard Clough to Thomas Gresham. Clough also reported to his master that the 'hed of Santt-Petters chourch of Loven', whom we can with certainty identify as Cunerus, had narrowly escaped being killed by the rioters. The other priest, about whose identity Clough likewise chose to remain silent, had so virulently attacked the Pope and the abuse of the 'Spyrytuallty', indulging in such violent personal vituperation of Cunerus that the venerable doctor of the church, set upon by an excited mob crying 'kyll hym, kyll hym!', had had to fly for dear life and find shelter in a house until 'in fyne the Skowtard came and toke hym prysoner, and, as hytt ys sayd, syttyt in water to the kneys, for that, as sone as he was taken, the Skowtard whentt to the Prynse to knowe hys pleasure, whome appowyntyd howe he...'[19]. Cunerus was apparently taken into custody to be examined by no less a person than William of Orange ('the Prynse'), the famous political leader who stayed in Antwerp for most of this crucial year in an attempt to pacify the city, a mission entrusted to him by the Regent of the country, Margaret of Parma. Incidentally, from the contemporary chronicle of events compiled by Godevaert van Haecht, it appears that the subject of the preachings

19 See *Relations politiques*, IV, 335-6. The end of the letter is missing. From *De Kroniek van Godevaert van Haecht* (ed. R. Van Roosbroeck, Antwerp, 1929-30, I, 93) we learn that Cunerus was later released on bail. See also *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, IX, 305 and 313 for his depositions. On Cunerus see Van der Aa's *Biographisch Woordenboek*, III, 918-920. Characteristically, Cunerus published in 1576 a *Tractaet vant hoochwaerdich Sacrament des Aultaers*, which was printed by Velpius.

was again drawn from Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians. But let us return to Fowler.

There can hardly be any doubt that Fowler had also decided to leave Louvain for Antwerp, say in March 1566, because no other city could have offered him greater facilities for his profession, sixteenth-century Antwerp having developed into *the* great commercial centre for import and export *par excellence.* All the great financial houses of the world had branches there, the extraordinary prosperity of its citizens being also reflected in its sumptuous buildings and its rapidly extending boundaries. Its population exceeded a hundred thousand in 1566 and it had become the most populous city of the Netherlands. It is therefore not surprising that Fowler felt drawn towards it. Quite apart from the fact that there were more Englishmen in Antwerp than anywhere else in Flanders and that it was among these that he hoped to find a readership, Fowler could not fail to realize that the city offered great opportunities for rising printers because more than half the number of printing-houses in the whole of the Netherlands were at that time in Antwerp. Furthermore, the new intellectual climate which reigned there, with all sorts of heresies raising their ugly heads, must have been the most powerful inducement of all for a man of Fowler's calibre. His great aim in coming to the great metropolis of the West was to help stem the tide of sectarianism.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the controversial works of Thomas Harding (1516-1572) were in 1564 printed in Louvain and in 1565 in Antwerp, by John Latius and Aegidius Diest respectively, but that in 1566 *A Reioindre to M. Iewels Replie* was sent to Fowler's newly established printing-house, if not to be printed then at least to be on sale there. It should also be borne in mind that an able press-corrector could supervise the printing of English works. Harding's *A Reioindre* appeared with the imprint *Ex officina Ioannes Fouleri.* The story of the printing of the *Reioindre* is in many ways a remarkable one. No requests for printing books were made to the Privy Council in Brussels between 30 March and 19 September 1566, at least there are no entries between these dates. It is abundantly clear that this considerable gap was due to the fact that the authorities had their

hands full with other things in these troublesome times, swamped as they were by the tide of revolution. But licences were accorded and again it was Cunerus who was called in to authorise the printing of the *Reioindre* on 7 May 1566, on which book the Privy Council was to confer its blessings on 20 May 1566. This information is derivable from the printed book itself.

For the purpose of detecting the printer of Sander's *Supper* and Harding's *Reioindre* Mr J. Machiels, Librarian of the University of Ghent, has examined for me the original copies of these two works in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. His conclusion is that the typographical similarity between *A Reioindre* (press-mark D. 8035) and *The Supper* (press-mark D. 9733) is very striking. Typographical research in sixteenth century typefaces is still in its infancy and H.D.L. Vervliet, a great specialist in this field, has repeatedly warned us in the introduction to his *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam, 1968) that the same typefaces were simultaneously used by different printers. Nonetheless, according to Mr Machiels, both *The Supper* and *A Reioindre* show a similar type area and use the same *textura* (T 41) as well as similar Greek letters and very probably issued from the same press. A point of incidental interest is that the copy of *The Supper* examined by Mr Machiels bears the following inscription: 'Th. Stapletoni liber: ex Dono Authoris/Collegij Anglicani Societatis Jesu Leodij Bibl. Mai', which it is difficult to interpret. As far as I have been able to determine Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598) never resided in Liége and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the Latin inscription tells us only that the copy of Sander's *Supper* which was once in the possession of Stapleton passed for a time into the hands of the English Jesuits established in Liège.

In all there were four works with the Antwerp imprint and dated 1566: Fowler's English translation of Frarin's *Oratio*, Harding's *A Reioindre to M. Iewels Replie*, Rastell's *A Treatise Intitled Beware of M. Iewel* and Rastell's *The Third Booke*, *Declaring... that it is time to Beware of M. Iewel;* in the last-named book the epistle 'To the Indifferent Reader' closes with the undated formula 'Farewel. From Louane'. It has sometimes been argued that these

Fowler imprints were false, but it is clear from Plantin's *Journal* for 1566 that Fowler spent a considerable time in Antwerp in his capacity of *Imprimeur Anglois.* Rastell's *Third Booke* still carried the imprint 'Antverpiae,/Ex Officina Ioannis Fouleri./M.D. LXVI', but in the next book to be associated with Fowler's name, William Allen's *A treatise made in defence of the lauful power*, we find it changed to 'Louanii,/Apud Ioannem Foulerum./ Anno D. 1567', a change of style which it seems justifiable to attribute to the fact that the printer had temporarily resumed the trade of bookseller or had asked other printers to print for him[20]. It is likely that Fowler left Antwerp shortly after the iconoclastic riots of August 1566 and the suggestion that his printing-shop may well have been harassed by the rioters is not far-fetched. After July 1566 there is no further entry of Fowler's name in Plantin's *Journal* until 21 January 1568, when it is recorded that Plantin placed an order for a number of books with 'Iohannes Foulerius Anglus Libraire à Louvain' (*Archives* 17, p. 91, on the *doibt avoir* side). Note that the first item ordered was '12 Ep*isto*lae Thomae Mori', which Fowler printed early in 1568 (for which see the books listed under that year).

Back in Louvain by the end of 1566 Fowler resumed the trade of bookseller. In 1567 he printed or had printed for him the seven following works: (1) William Allen's *A treatise made in defence of the lauful power and authoritie of priesthod* (RLB: LP 3143 A); (2) Thomas Dorman, *A request to M. Iewell;* (3) Nicholas Sander, *A treatise of the images of Christ;* (4) Thomas Harding, *A reioindre to M. Iewels replie against the sacrifice of the masse*[21], which is a

20 For title-pages and other information on sixteenth-century catholic books see A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose* (London, 1950). Southern's account of Fowler, relying as it does on inaccurate or careless authors, is in many ways misleading and open to criticism. See also the detailed review of Southern's book by A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers in *The Library*, Fifth Series, VI (June 1951), 48-57. From now on I will quote titles of books in accordance with the way they are listed by A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England* 1558-1640 (Biographical Studies 1534-1829, Vol. 3, 1966, repr. 1968).

21 For Sander's *Treatise* and Harding's *Reioindre* there are entries in *CPA*, reg. 673 fol. 200 and fol. 207 under the dates 4 November 1566 and 1 September 1567 respectively. *The treatise of the images of Christ* was of course prompted by the iconoclastic riots of August 1566. For other English works entered in *CPA* registers see M. Baelde's article mentioned in footnote 4.

different work from Harding's 1566 *Reioindre;* (5) John Rastell, *A briefe shew of the false wares;* (6) Nicholas Sander, *The rocke of the churche;* and (7) Thomas Stapleton, *A counterblast to M. Hornes vayne blaste.* In 1568 Fowler brought out six more works: (1) *An edict or ordonance of the French king Charles IX*, *conteining a prohibition and interdiction of all preaching and assembling*, (2) Harding's *A detection of sundrie foule errours;* (3) Osorio da Fonseca's *A learned and very eloquent treatie* [sic], the translation being made by John Fen; (4) Nicholas Sander, *A briefe treatise of vsurie* and, possibly, (5) Laurence Vaux, *A catechisme*, *or a Christian doctrine*, *necessarie for chyldren and the ignorant people;* and (6) Thomas More, *Epistola in qua respondet literis Johannis Pomerani* (ULG: Theol. 2625) a work for which the Privy Council issued a licence under the date 9 February 1568 in the name of Joannes Foulerus who is described as 'engelman [sic] residerende binnen onser universiteyt van Leuven' (*CPA*, reg. 673 fol. 209 v^{o}). In view of its being entered in Fowler's name it looks as though the *Epistola* issued from Fowler's own printing-press for it also bears the imprint *Louanii ex officina Ioannis Fouleri*, whereas the other five carry *Apud Ioannem Foulerum* in their imprint. The works published in 1569 include: (1) Reginald Pole, *A treatie* [*sic*] *of iustification*, (2) Nicholas Sander, *De Typica et Honoraria Sacrarum Imaginum Adoratione* (RLB: II 41322(a)); (3) Reginald Pole, *De Summo Pontifice Christi in Terris Vicario* (RLB: L.P. 4224A and ULL: Res. 5A 70221); and (4) Pius V, *Bulla..... lecta* (RLB: L.P. 1511A). Those published in 1570 include (1) Antonio Possevino, *A treatise of the holy sacrifice of the altar*, which was a translation made by Thomas Butler; (2) Gilbertus Genebrardus, *Chronographia* (ULG: Theol. 6579), of which a second edition was to appear in 1572; Thomas à Kempis, *De Christi Imitatione* (RLB: L.P. 453A); and (4) Thomas Aquinas, *Ex Universa Summa Sacrae Theologiae.* In 1571 Fowler brought out the following works (1) (possibly) John Leslie, *The copie of a letter writen out of Scotland;* (2) Philip Morgan (= John Leslie), *A treatise concerning the defence of... Marie*

of Scotland, of which the imprint reads *Leodië apud Gualterum Morberium*, but of which part 3 was probably printed for Fowler (RLB: L.P. 4275A); (3) Nicholas Sander, *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, of which the colophon *J. Fouleri cura et impensa excudebat Reynerus Velpius* makes it clear that this work had been printed by Velpius (RLB: V.B. 1546).

It is from Fowler's Louvain period that a statement concerning his activities has been preserved in the Public Record Office, London. On 11 October 1571 a certain Henry Simpson gave evidence under examination at York that

> Mr. Fowler, an Englishman, prints all the English books at Louvaine written by Mr. Harding or others, and the Duke of Alva's printer, who lives in Brussels, all the Latin that are against the doings in England. Wm. Smith, a Welshman, servant to Dr. Harding, commonly brings the books to the printing[22].

The publications for 1572 include: (1) P. Sutor, *De vita cartusiana*, which was printed for Fowler by Velpius and of which the Cambridge University Library possesses a copy; (2) G. Genebrardus, *Chronographia* (ULG: Hist. 5347 and ULL: 3A 23482); (3) Alan Cope, *Syntaxis historiae & evangelicae* (ULG: Theol. 415); (4) John Leslie, *The copie of a letter writen out of Scotland* and (5) John Leslie, *A treatise of treasons against Q. Elizabeth.* The only Latin work printed with a Louvain imprint in 1573 that has come to my notice is J. Giovanus, *De Schismate* (RLB: V.H. 15.381A1 L.P. and ULL: Res. 5A7025), all the other 1573 works either carrying an Antwerp imprint or offering no clues as to place of printing. Let us therefore turn to an examination of Fowler's career in Antwerp and Douay, incidentally begging leave, for the sake of convenience, also to include there a few pieces of evidence relating to the printer's earlier period. The mere fact that archivists have brought together documents which are widely separated chronologically necessitates their treatment in one or other of these two sections.

22 *Calendar of State Papers*, *Dom. Eliz.*, *Addenda*, 1566-1579, ed. M.A.E. Green, Vol. 7, p. 365.

II. Fowler in Antwerp and Douay

Through an examination of the Plantin account books it is possible to determine with some precision when Fowler left Louvain. The last time we find an entry under 'Foulerus Anglus Bibliopola *Lovaniensis*' occurs on the debit side (Fowler *doit avoir*) in one of Plantin's ledgers on 18 March 1573. On that day we find there is a record of a purchase of books from Fowler which has been carried forward from an earlier ledger (*Archives*, 17, p. 251). The total amount which Plantin owed Fowler was 204 florins. This entry is related to a later one in the same ledger which no longer specifies Fowler's place of residence but states that the accounts have now been settled *in Antwerp* for the amount due. This settlement took place on 11 June 1573 (*Arch.*, 17, p. 282.: 'conclusion de compte faict en Anvers avec ledit'). This agreement was confirmed on the same date when Plantin and Fowler agreed upon a *compte courront de change* (*Arch.* 17, p. 283). It would seem from all this that the printer moved to Antwerp in the period between late March and early June 1573. And so the first book of Fowler's to appear with an Antwerp imprint was Thomas More's *A dialogue of cumfort against tribulation* (RLB: L.P. 3663A). The closing formula of its dedicatory epistle 'From Antwerp, the last of September. An. 1573' is completely in line with the evidence from the Plantin accounts.

Yet I believe that one of the first books with which Fowler was in some way involved on arrival in Antwerp was G.T.'s *A table gathered owt of a booke named a treatise of treasons against Q. Elizabeth.* It is doubtfully ascribed to 1573 by both A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, p. 501 and Allison and Rogers, *A catalogue.....*, p. 152, but the former places its publication in Louvain while the latter authors assign it to Antwerp, for which many grounds can be advanced particularly because of G.T.'s work being connected with Sir Christopher Hatton, who spent a considerable time in Antwerp in June and early July 1573. Hatton at the time, was captain of the Queen's body-guard and had come to the Low Countries because he had fallen seriously ill and had

decided to take the waters at Spa where he stayed in July and early August, returning to England in the second half of August when he was well again. In this connection it is further interesting to note that among the manuscripts preserved at Hatfield there is a letter from one T.G. addressed to Hatton and written from Antwerp on 25 June 1573 in which the writer refers to his enclosing 'a Table of Treasons collected out of a book lately come out of France' (see *Hatfield MSS*, II, 1888, p. 54).

At this point it is necessary to draw attention to an important contemporary letter which deals at length with questions of authorship and the identity of printers and which seems to have been overlooked by students of the period. The letter[23] is an exceedingly long one and refers in turn to three of the works mentioned in the preceding pages, though the writer studiously avoids referring to them directly by title. It was written on 1 February 1575 by Thomas Wilson, the English ambassador in Brussels, and addressed from Antwerp to William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer and chief minister of Queen Elizabeth, and it deals in turn with John Leslie's *A treatise concerning the defence of.... Marie of Scotland* (1571), Leslie's *A treatise of treasons* (1572 or 1573) and G.T.'s *A table gathered* (1573?). What emerges from Wilson's letter, which is too long to quote in its entirety, is that one of the devices used in discovering the identity of authors was to intimidate those suspected of knowing it by accusing them of having themselves written the book, thus forcing them to reveal what they knew. Thus Sir Thomas Copley (1534-1584), a Roman Catholic exile in Flanders who yet professed allegiance to Queen Elizabeth, had the composition of *A treatise concerning the defence of.... Marie of Scotland* foisted upon him. As to *A treatise of treasons* Sir Francis Englefield was suspected of being involved in its composition. In the third paragraph of his letter Wilson finally turns to the work of G.T. and reveals that John Fowler was

23 See *Relations politiques*, VII, 432 ff. See also *Cal. of State Papers*, *Foreign Ser. Eliz.*, 1575-77 (vol. XI, 1880, ed. A.J. Crosby), p. 11 for an abstract which, textually, is less reliable. For a later, not hitherto noticed, reference to Fowler see *ibd.*, XI, p. 194, in a letter of Henry Mason of 7 December 1575.

strongly suspected of being the printer of both John Leslie's *A treatise of treasons* and its 'abstracte' by G.T.

> And nowe to Your Lordship's letter of 4 of this monthe, I have spoken with Fowler, the prynter, who wyl not disclose any thynge to me towchynge the pryntinge of the abstracte, and denieth utterlie that he was ever so moche as privie to the pryntinge of either of the bookes; but, because earnestlie pressed to saie where he thought either the lesser or greater booke showlde bee prynted, sayde that he thought the lesser booke was prynted in Liege, but he woulde not geave unto me any reasons of his so thynkinge. I charged hym, as I have doone dyverse others, to saye unto me whether he thought our Soverayne to bee lawful Queene of Englande or no, and neyther he, nor yet any other have refused to acknowlege the same.

I am afraid that this passage does not help us much in establishing the identity of the printer of Leslie's *Treatise* and its 'abstracte'. But to return to the safer ground of Thomas More's *A Dialogue of cumfort.* This work was dedicated to Lady Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria (1538-1612), whose Spanish husband, Count and then Duke of Feria (died 7 September 1571), had been one of the most prominent members of the pro-Spanish faction at the court of Margaret of Parma. Throughout his life John Fowler lived within the orbit of the great of this earth and all of his contacts with the outside world were with the higher nobility and the higher clergy. In his dedicatory epistle he referred to the magnificent edition of Thomas More published by Richard Tottel in 1557 but he also opened it with an allusion to one of his own smaller works, though its title is not mentioned. 'Whereas I was so bold the last yere,' Fowler writes, 'to dedicate to your Honour, a litle Treatise of mine own translating....' This obviously refers to *A briefe fourme of confession*, which appeared with an Antwerp imprint in 1576 and which was subsequently reprinted with Laurence Vaux's *Catechism.* The dedicatory epistle of *A briefe fourme of confession*, again addressed to the Duchess of Feria, carries the date Louvain 2 April 1572. It therefore looks as though there was an earlier edition of *A briefe fourme of confession.*

While at Antwerp Fowler employed various printers but it is practically certain that his own printing-shop had not fallen idle,

as will appear from the request his widow addressed to the Privy Council, a document to be studied presently. As we have seen, the chief printer employed by Fowler was Reyner Velpius, who, for example, printed Nicholas Sander's *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae* (Louvain, 1571), of which a second edition appeared in Antwerp in 1578. But he also engaged other printers. While it does not appear who printed Richard Bristow's *A briefe treatise of diuerse plaine and sure wayes to finde out the truthe* (with the imprint *Antuerpiae*, *Apud Iohannem Foulerum*, *Anglum*, *MDLXXIIII*), Bristow's *Demaundes to be proponed of Catholiques to the heretikes* (1576) was, as appears from a statement at the end of the book, printed by Louis de Winde, a Douay printer. Another Fowler publication, Thomas à Kempis' *De Christi Imitatione*, was printed by the Louvain printer J. Masius in 1575 (RLB: L.P. 454A). Louis de Winde also printed William Allen's *De Sacramentis in genere...Libri tres* (1576), which reads *in fine* 'Duaci, excudebat Ludovicus de Winde, cura et impensa Iohanni Fouleri' (Ghent Episcopal Seminary, A294; ULL: 3A40386). After the death of de Winde his widow carried on the business and printed Thomas Stapleton's *Orationes Sex* (Antwerp, 1576) (PLA: A2132), for A. Labarre is no doubt right in stating that this work was 'vraisemblablement imprimé à Douai'[24]. The last work to be published by Fowler while still in Antwerp was Markos Marulic's *Dictorum Factorumque Memorabilium Libri Sex* (1577) (RLB: III.27.602A; PLA:A2132). It was printed by the Antwerp printer Gerard Smits and dedicated by Fowler to Carolus Borromeus, which again indicates that Fowler was used to rubbing shoulders with the great. As a point of incidental interest I would like to mention that Borromeus, the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan who died in 1585 and was canonized in 1610, had become very well known in the years 1576-1577 at a time when the plague was raging in Milan, carrying off thousands of people. It was at this time that Borromeus composed a devotional work which became a favoured instrument of the Counter-Reformation. Of this book, entitled *The Testament*

24 A. Labarre, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle. Douai* (Baden-Baden, 1972), p. 28.

of the Soule, a unique copy in English dated 1638 has survived[25]. When we take into consideration the prominence of Fowler in the printing trade and his contacts with Borromeus, there can be little doubt that he knew of this *Testament* and was possibly its printer. Nor should it be forgotten that Milan then formed part of the Spanish dominions and that Don Luis de Requesens, who was governor-general of the Netherlands from 1573 to March 1576, had immediately before that acted as governor of Milan for about a year and a half (April 1572-September 1573).

Fowler's English publications also include *Certaine deuout and godly petitions called Iesus Psalter* (1574). Another edition of the Jesus psalter appeared in 1576 when *The psalter of Sainct Hierome*, bearing the date 1576 was added to it. Fowler also brought out one book in Flemish, Frans Vervoort's *Hortulus Animae*, which probably appeared at the end of 1573 or at the beginning of 1574, for it was approved by the royal censor, J. Molanus, on 25 August 1573. It appears to be an exceedingly rare book of which the British Museum holds a copy (press-mark 3457. d. 30), the Library of the University of Louvain also holding a copy (press-mark Res 5A33117)[26]. This is why I transcribe its title-page. Hortulus Animae,/oft/Het hoof/ken der Sielen./ Vol alder devoter ghebedekens/ende oefeninghen diemen in/der Kercken lesen sal./Ghemaect bij den Eerw. Pater/Broeder Frans Vervoort./Minderbroeder tot/Mechelen./ Nu op een nyen verbetert ende/vermeerdert./ TANTWERPEN./ Bij M. Ian Foulaert gesworen/Librier inde Camerstraet./Met Privilegie der Co.Ma./ Onderteeckent:/I. De la Torre./ The *Hortulus* also carries the 'justitia et pax' device of Velpius. That Fowler, while in Antwerp, lived as here stated in the Kammerstraat is confirmed by evidence to be mentioned later.

For the year 1575 we possess a further interesting testimony as to Fowler's status in the publishing trade. It is again contained in a

25 See S. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare. A Documentary Life* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 41-6.

26 For editions of this work see B. De Troeyer, O.F.M., *Bio-bibliographia Franciscana Neerlandica Saeculi XVI* (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1969), II, 386, nr 681, and A. Ampe, 'Kritisch onderzoek van de Hortulus Animae-drukken ten onzent', *De Gulden Passer*, XL (1962), 59-95.

letter by Thomas Wilson, the English ambassador, a letter which was first noticed by Thomas McNevin Veech[27]. On 13 March 1575 Wilson wrote from Antwerp to William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's chief minister, and related a conversation he had had with Arias Montanus, the famous Spanish theologian and great biblical scholar who is chiefly remembered for the lion's share he had in the colossal work of the so-called *Biblia Polyglotta*, one of the glories of the printer's art produced by the Plantin presses.

This Arias Montanus is he that did sette forthe the greate Bible in eight volumes, in the sacred tonges, whiche cost me 25 liv. flemyshe, a man of greate estimation with Kynge Philippe and generallie beloved here aswel for his good life as for his greate bearynge. I have had hym and Don Bernardino twyse or thryse at my howse, and for that I doe knowe no books doe passe any prynte here, but soche as he speciallie shal allowe, I did deale with hym to knowe the prynter of the Treatise of Treasons, and the author also, wherein he hath taken paynes, and, through hym and Plantine, whome also I have used in this matter, I hope to knowe the prynter and the verie author before it bee longe, yf he bee not alreadie knowen; and, if Fowler bee fownde to bee the man, he shal bee bannyshed this cowntrie, although he nowe doe keepe an open shoppe. Arias Montanus towlde me farther of hymselfe that Sawnders came to him for the pryntinge of his Monarchia, the seaven booke whereof he woulde not allowe to bee prynted within Kynge Philippe's dominions, for that it tended to the breache of pease and touched the bloode of Kynge Philippe's deere syster our Soverayne. And so, Fowler pryntinge al the sayde bookes at Lovayne, savinge the sevente booke onelie, the sayde seavente booke was prynted at Coleyne by Sawnder's lewde practise and so joyned to the rest[28].

We have seen that the author of the *Treatise of treasons* was bishop John Leslie and that John Fowler was connected with its printing. The passage shows clearly that the English government took Sander's *De Invisibili Monarchia* very seriously and that the identity of printers could in the spacious days of great Elizabeth remain concealed even from those who held high office as well as from the greatest scholars of the time, even though, as Wilson tells us,

27 Thomas McNevin Veech, *Dr Nicholas Sanders and the English Reformation* 1530-1581 (Louvain, 1935), p. 90.

28 *Relations politiques*, VII, 470.

Fowler ‘now doe keepe an open shoppe’. We must now devote close attention to a number of documents which will add considerably to our knowledge of this remarkable man.

Of the three documents that are preserved in *carton* 1276 of the Spanish Privy Council, the request introduced by Alice Fowler in 1580 is the most interesting. Though it has not passed unnoticed[29], it has not yet been published and studied with attention. This request, written on one side of a single sheet, is accompanied by other papers made up of two once-folded sheets of paper, placed one inside another so as to make an eight-page booklet. This latter document, to which we will first give attention, is in fact a copy of the original letters patent granted to John Fowler in 1570 by Philip II, King of Spain. The four and a half pages of its text are too long to quote in full here but the following passage deserves notice:

> Receu avons lhumble supplication de Jehan *Foulerus* imprimeur et libraire juré résident en n*ost*re ville de Louvain / Contenant comme il ait longue années exercé lart et stil de limprimerie et librairie par n*ost*re com*m*ission et congé/Et il soit que pour obtempérer et satisfaire à noz ordonnances naguèrres faictes et publiées en noz pays de p*ar*deca sur le faict et exercise de lad*ict*e imprimerie, led*ict* suppliant auroit en préalable obtenu du vicaire général de larchévesque de Malynes son diosain, ensemble de son pasteur, et du Recteur de l'université aud*ict* Louvain son juge ordinaire L*et*tres d'attestation en fourme pertinente de sa bonne conduicte allendroict de n*os*tre Religion Catholicque / Ensemble de sa bonne fame, et renommée / Avecq encoires autres l*ett*res de Christoffle Plantin / Prothotypographe à ce par nous commis sur son idonéité scavoir et expérience en lart de lad*ict*e imprimerie.

The document is dated at the end ‘données en n*os*tre ville Danvers le vingt neufiesme jour de Juillet, Lan de grâce mil cincq cent soixante dix’. The reference to Plantin is a reminder of the fact that Philip II had created the office of prototypographer by ordinance of 19 May 1570 and had, by letters patent of 10 June,

29 See L. Antheunis, ‘Engelsche drukkers in de Spaansche Nederlanden: John Fowler (1537-1579)’ *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, XXVIII (Antwerp, 1937), 114-127. Incidentally, the Fowler bibliography contained in this article is unreliable.

appointed Plantin to this post. Plantin's duties involved an examination of the proficiency in the art of printing of those who wanted to join the trade. At the same time the examination was to record where the prospective printers came from, what their linguistic skills were and whether they had special abilities. Plantin did not examine the religious orthodoxy of new candidates. Obviously this was the task of the ecclesiastical authorities in Mechlin and Louvain. That such was the procedure is also indicated by the French text just quoted. The register in which Plantin entered the minutes of this examination has been preserved and under the date of 20 July 1570, when John Fowler was catechised, we find the following text, which, although it has been printed before[30], may well be reprinted here since hitherto it has sometimes been inaccurately referenced.

> Johannes Foullerus, imprimeur, demourant à Louvain, s'estant présenté à moy, en la présence de Jehan Verwithaghe, imprimeur, et Jehan vanden Driesche, notaire, à ce appellés. Et premièrement m'a exhibé lectres de son admission, passées le 5. jour de May 1565, signées Facwez, sur le dos desquelles appert qu'il a faict le serment à ce requis ès mains du lieutenant du Maieur de Louvain, le mesme jour, et d avantage, lectres d'attestation de sa vie catholique, du Recteur de l'Université de Louvain, en datte du 18. du présent mois. Et a déclaré n'avoir point aprins l'art, sinon depuis qu'il s'est mis à imprimer et tenir compagnons pour ce faire, et sçait composer et imprimer et autres exercices dudict art de l'imprimerie. Et sçait le latin, françois, italian, espagnol avec son maternal anglois, et aucunnement le grec et le flameng. Et luy ay enchargé de s'addresser au conseil du Roy et d'observer, et faire le devoir de l'estat.

Let us now turn to the request submitted by the widow of John Fowler. The situation in which she found herself after her husband's death on 13 February 1579 will be examined in some detail later, but the obvious thing for her to do then was to set up in business herself, such being the normal practice of printers'

30 Museum Plantin-Moretus (Antwerp), *Archives* 25, fol. 7 v^{o}. The transcript given here follows that given by Ph. Rombouts in his *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin* (Antwerp, 1881), p. 14. Rombouts follows the editorial practice mentioned in footnote 5.

widows in the sixteenth century. This is why she addressed her request to the appropriate authorities which, for the region of Douay in which she was staying, happened to be the Privy Council of the governor-general Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma. Having presented her application, she was then asked to produce her husband's original printing licence, which she did and then apparently addressed it to an Englishman. On page 8 of the small booklet in the Spanish Privy Council documents which we have considered earlier in this section, there is an inscription in English ‘this to mr Doctor White with the letter’, which is surprising. It no doubt stems from Alice Fowler herself. Though the inscription is a little cryptic, the Dr. white referred to here can hardly be anyone other than Dr. Richard White (ca. 1540-1611), who, after studies at Winchester and Oxford, was to leave England after graduation and become professor of civil and canon law in the University of Douay. That ‘mr Doctor White’ has been correctly identified is borne out by a Latin document - in fact a printing licence - which is also preserved in *carton* 1276. Incidentally, John Fowler and Richard White were approximately the same age and both had graduated from New College, Oxford, where Richard White had been admitted perpetual fellow in 1557. Fowler's widow had tot apply to the officially recognized censors of books in the Douay region. These were always members of the clergy and chosen from among the professors of the University and, obviously the fact that one of these was Richard White, a former fellow-student of her husband, made him Mrs. Fowler's obvious choice for help in the matter. That such was the procedure finds additional confirmation from two notes inscribed in the margin of Alice Fowler's request itself.

Since it contains information interesting from many points of view a complete transcript of the request is necessary. As was customary in applications of this sort, the original text prepared by Fowler's widow, or her helpers, bears no date. It contains cancelled words and phrases which in the transcription are put between square brackets being used for interlinear insertions. The slanting lines in the original request indicating stops have here been replaced by the conventional punctuation

marks. The text, characteristically, opens with an address *Au Roy*, which was cancelled and replaced by the conventional heading *Philippes...* by some official. It is written so as to leave a generous left-hand margin, which has been used for the two marginal notes. These are separated by the signature of a secretary. In my transcript I have placed the marginal notes immediately after the request, which is now reproduced.

> [Au Roy]
> Philippes &c. à tous & ceulx
> qui ces pr*ésen*tes verront salut.
> Receu avons lhu*m*ble supplication.

[Remonstre en toute humilité et révéren*ce* v*os*tre pauvre servante] La vefve de feu Jehan Fouller angloix jadiz Imprimeur et vendeur des livres ayant à ce f*air*e cydevant passé xvi ans obtenu <n*ost*re> octroy et privilège [de v*ost*re Majesté] avant les premiers troubles en l'an lxiiij lors estant cy arrivé Dengleterre po*u*r la religion, et depuis continuellem*ent* [toutjours] faict et [continué] exercé lung et lautre train tant en la ville d'Anvers que Louvain respectivem*ent* jusques à la dernière révolte illecq passée environ iij ans. Que depuis dy pour ce retyra en [vostre] <no*st*re> ville de Douaij, que icelluy son mary est [devenu] allé de vie à trespas [au] <en n*ost*re> service [de v*ost*re Majesté] co*mm*e commissaire des vivres en [la] n*ost*re ville de Namur, après le trespaz de [très haute mémoire] de Don Jehan <feu n*ost*re très cher et très aimé bon frère d'Austrice>, délaissant icelle sup*plian*te avecq sa mère et iiij petitz enfans sans beaucop du moyen à <pour> les nourrir et conduyre à honneur. Et co*mm*e à lad*icte* sup*plian*te sont délaissé et demeuré beaucop des livres de valeur et pris de sad*icte* imprimerie que autres, matrices, fontes des l*ett*res, formes, papier, encre, q*ue* autres instrumentz et hardes concernant le faict de [sond*ict*] <sad*icte*> bouticque et imprimerie, et mesmes encoires aucuns en angloix catholicques non achevez ny du tout p*ar*f[ec]<aic>tz. Par où elle avecq <la> grâce de dieu et assisten*ce* d'aucuns ses amis à ce bien entenduz et offrans tout bon secours, ayde et adresse, elle pourroit aysé*ment* gaigner sa vie avecq ses pouvres enfans et belle mère plustost *que* de vendre et jecter hors ses mains ce que des*sus* en ceste saison. Si p*ar* acte [la] luy [sup*plian*te] soit *con*senty et accordé

de c*on*tinuer le train tant d'imprimer q*ue* de vendre et distribuer livres de p*ar* [V*os*tre Majesté] <nous>. En conformité [et ensuyvant le contenu dicelluy] <led*ict* précédent> privilège à sond*ict* feu marij donné. [Pour lequel lad*icte* sup*plian*te très humblement supplie à luy estre consenty et accordé octroy]. Et quil <nous> pleust [vo*st*re Majesté] luy en fère dépescher l*ett*res à ce p*er*tinentes. [Pour ce est il] Scavoir faisons selon lad*icte* copie auctentique mutatis mutandis et secundum mutata.

L'advis des recteur et ceulx de l'université de Douay. Et ioindra la suppliante loctroy obtenu par son feu mary, ou copie authenticque d'iceluy. Faict à Mons le 10. en octobre 1580.

S. de Grimaldi notarius

Veu l'advis, fiant l*ett*res d'octroy pour imprimer et vendre à Douay, en c*on*formité des l*ett*res précédentes dont copie est icy joinctes. Faict à Valenciennes le 10. en apvril 1581.

Part of the difficulty in reading the manuscript of this text stems from the fact that the original draft was twice added to and corrected, first presumably by Fowler's widow herself and then by some secretary who crossed out several words and replaced them by others, changing for example ‘est devenu de vie à trespas au service de v*ost*re M*ajes*té’ into ‘est allé de vie à trespas en n*os*tre service’, thus giving the phraseology its official character. There is not the least doubt that Alice Fowler herself was responsible for drawing up the text of this request. Small details in the language used make it clear that it is not that of a native, for example *parfaictz* was originally *perfectz*, and the special use of *révolte* in the sense of a change of religious conviction, as will be pointed out presently, is similar to that of the sixteenth century English usage, in certain contexts, of the word revolt.

The two marginal notes appear to have been written at different times by the same hand, the first note being separated from the

second by the signature of S. De Grimaldi[31]. The notes, which are unmistakably in the handwriting of Jean Richardot (1540-1609)[32], record the injunctions of the Privy Council, the first enjoining the petitioner to provide a copy of the earlier privilege. Through the identification of Richardot's hand it now becomes possible to show that he acted as Master of Requests under Farnese as early as October 1580, the request of the widow Fowler probably being one of the first to be submitted to him in this capacity. It took Richardot six months before he could provide the final permission of the Privy Council, one reason for the delay being the extremely confused situation in the Netherlands and another being the fact that the request had to be sent to the ecclesiastical authorities of the University of Douay. The printing licence they accorded has also survived in *carton* 1276 of the Spanish Privy Council. Significantly it bears the name of Richard White, who is styled *pro tempore Rector* of the 'Academy' of Douay[33]. The licence is obviously in its correct position in the chronological development of the legal action, for it has the date 20 March 1581.

> Vefue Foulerus octroy
> Accepimus ea qua decet reverentia literas Maiestatis Vestrae Rex Catholice cum incluso libello supplice viduae Johannis Foulleri Angli, dum viveret typographi et bibliopolae, exhibituitq*ue* etiam nobis dicta vidua copiam authenticam privilegij sui mariti, cuius in dicto libello suo meminit: Quibus omnibus perlectis et perpe*n*sis, nobis videtur, Maiestatem vestram recte facturam si praedictae viduae concedat privilegium imprimendi libros Duaci atq*ue* etiam facultatem vendendi libros sub ijsdem conditioni-

31 Simon de Grimaldi had been recently appointed ordinary secretary to the Privy Council, namely on 15 July 1578. See M. Baelde, *De collaterale raden onder Karel V en Filips II (*1531-1578*)* (Brussels, 1965), p. 265.

32 The handwriting of Jean Richardot is so peculiar and so idiosyncratic as to make it immediately recognisable by all those who have handled documents of the period. The best succinct recent article on Richardot is by Hubert de Schepper in the *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, Vol. I (1964), col. 762-775, where further relevant literature is cited.

33 Richard White held the position of professor of Canon Law in Douay after Dr Owen Lewis had left for Cambrai in 1572. See Paul Collinet, *L'ancienne faculté de droit de Douai* (1562-1793) (Lille, 1900), pp. 91-2, 42. Collinet does not mention White as 'temporary Rector'.

bus et legibus quibus defuncto suo marito a Maiestate Vestra haec eadem privilegia concessa fuisse constat ex praedicta copia authentica, quam his literis cum praedicto libello supplice inclusam mittimus iuxta mandatum Maiestatis Vestrae, ut Maiestas Vestra hac de re quod consultum videbitur decernat. Deus Optimus Maximus Maiestatis Vestrae consilia ad augendam religionem Catholicam et salutem rei publicae procurandam dirigat et promoveat. Duaci 20 Martij 1581.
Maiestatis Vestrae
Humiles Oratores
Ricardus Vitus pro
te*m*pore Rector &
Professores Academiae
Duacensis. &.

For a full understanding of the terms of Alice Fowler's request a short historical account of the situation in which the Fowlers found themselves is useful. Deeply committed to the Catholic cause though they were and deeply involved in religious controversies as well, the Spanish Fury on 4 November 1576 in Antwerp must have given them a terrible shock. The event was so important that it precipitated the signing of the Pacification of Ghent a few days later. It brought the larger part of the country for a considerable time under the authority of the States General. The arrival of Don Juan of Austria, the new governor-general appointed by Philip II, ushered in a period of great unrest and anxiety. The fact that he entered the Netherlands by way of Luxemburg in November 1576 shows that he did not feel confident enough to enter it by way of Artois and Flanders, for there he might not have been favourably received. After a number of negotiations Don Juan's governorship was temporarily accepted, notably after the so-called Perpetual Edict of Marche-en-Famennes (12 February 1577), but war was soon to break out again, the battle of Gembloux on 31 January 1578 spelling disaster for the States General. The States troops were utterly defeated by the army commanded by Don Juan, who had recently found a formidable companion-in-arms in the person of Alexandre Farnese, sent to Flanders by Philip II ‘pour assister Don Juan dans le manège des armes’. By 1580, the year in which

Jean Richardot granted the request of Fowler's widow, Don Juan had died in Namur (October 1st, 1578) and had been succeeded as governor-general by his famous nephew.

It is against the background just outlined that Alice Fowler's words become significant. Her husband had in fact acted, we are told, as ‘commissaire des vivres’ in Don Juan's army, the headquarters of which were in Namur where the printer was to die early in 1579. I suspect, however, that *commissaire* is a scribal error for *commissionnaire.* Fowler was certainly not the *proveedor général des vivres* - this was a man called de Naves[34] - but he was no doubt a person who wanted to contribute actively to Don Juan's success. He can therefore be said to have belonged to that group of persons, of foreigners and natives alike who were out-and-out supporters of Don Juan and the Perpetual Edict. This peace was called *la paix des prestres* by its opponents. Shortly after this Edict was promulgated the new development was described by Thomas Wilson, English Ambassador in Brussels. On 6 May 1577, after Don Juan's entry into Brussels, he informed Sir Francis Walsingham that the brother of Philip II was received with great solemnity and then remarked ironically on ‘the general procession to geave God thankes for commune quietnes, many saynge: *Fuit homo missus a Deo*, *cui nomen erat Johannes*’[35]. Of course, it was the devoted Catholics, traditional champions of royalty, who had found a new prince they could pay their homage to. Such was the extent of the spread of Don Juan's popularity among clergy and nobility that the expression ‘Johannists’ seems to have spring up overnight to become current among Englishmen. At the beginning of July 1578, for example, we find Henry Killigrew using the term in a report which he made to the English government. He writes that there were three factions in all the places he passed. There are the secret protestants and these are joined by the second group, the ‘better part of the papists’, the *bons patriotes*, because they also would not accept subjection to the Spaniards, but ‘thirde and

34 L. van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, I, 197 and II, 36. Compare footnote 23 with its reference to Mason, who similarly held the ‘office of commissioner for the victuals’ and had been told by Fowler of the intercepting of certain letters.

35 See *Relations politiques*, IX, 291.

weakest are passionate papists called Johannists, which, rather then to forgo their religion, woulde have Don Juan to rule and commande them[36].' John Fowler, committed Catholic that he was, undoubtedly belonged to these Johannists. The two headquarters from which Don Juan operated were Louvain and Namur and this explains why John Fowler had come within Don Juan's orbit, Louvain having been the place of the printer's residence during a considerable part of the time he was in the Low Countries. And this brings us to a closer consideration of the terms of Alice Fowler's petition.

It has been generally believed[37] that Fowler after taking his M.A. degree in Oxford in 1560, left England for religious reasons in the same year or shortly thereafter. In the terms of his widow's request, however, we are told that he had obtained the privilege of Philip II 'passé xvj ans... avant les premiers troubles en l'an lxiiij lors estant cy arrivé Dengleterre', which evidently means that he arrived in 1564. On the other hand, he is called a printer and a stationer, having exercised 'lung et lautre train' both in Antwerp and Louvain 'jusques à la dernière révolte illecq passée environ iij ans'. This latter phrase is insufficiently clear for *illecq* might be held to refer to either Antwerp or Louvain. Bearing in mind, however, that Alice Fowler must have been busy preparing her request not very long after the death of her husband, there can be little room for doubt that *la dernière révolte* refers to the Spanish Fury of November 1576 in Antwerp, an event which had impressed itself so indelibly on men's minds that it developed into a rallying point around which some form of national resistance against Spain could crystallize. Though the use of an expression like *la dernière révolte* is a little odd in a context where one would expect the drafter of the request to condone the atrocities of November 1576, it should not be forgotten that William Davison, in his dispatches to the Earl of Leicester and to Francis Walsingham of 3 February

36 The report is to be found in *Relations politiques*, X, 549-551; the quotation is on p. 550. Also captains Carew and Malby call the supporters of Don Juan the "Don Juanists", see *ibid.*, X, 555.

37 See R.B. McKerrow, ed. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers.* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1910, repr. 1968), s.v. Fowler.

1578, similarly spoke of the ‘revolt of Lovain’. By this phrase the correspondent simply meant that Louvain had cast off its former allegiance after the battle of Gembloux. Louvain had in fact driven out its Scottish regiments and welcomed the soldiers of Don Juan without striking a blow[38]. Revolt could also mean ‘to go over to a rival power’ or even ‘to go over to another religion’, the latter meaning being listed as an obsolete one for revolt by the *Oxford English Dictionary.* This is why I believe that the expression *la dernière révolte* reflects an English usage.

In the terms of Alice Fowler's request it was stated that her husband *depuis dy pour ce retyra en nostre ville de Douaij.* This is certainly awkward French, even for the sixteenth century; it probably reflects how ‘from there’ (dy) and ‘for that reason’ *(pour ce)* is rendered into French by someone who was not completely conversant with the language. ‘For that reason’ refers to the ‘dernière révolte’ and thus Alice Fowler is explicit in stating that her husband left Antwerp after the Spanish Fury of 4 November 1576. A more precise date for the printer's departure is provided by an entry in the so-called *Douay College Diaries*, from which we learn that he arrived in Douay on 3 August 1577[39]. He therefore left Antwerp at the end of July. In a further entry under 20 August we read that on that day *Antverpiam regressus est Mr Foulerus*, that is ‘Mr Fowler has returned to Antwerp.’ Some time before 5 September the journey back to Douay was undertaken for the *Diaries* record for that day that *Eodem die ab Antwerpia reversus est Mr Foulerus qui secum apportavit matrem suam et praeterea tres liberos*, an entry which tells us that the printer was accompanied by his mother and three children but, somewhat surprisingly, omits all reference to his wife.

That Alice Fowler did not accompany her husband on his last journey to Douay and remained behind in Antwerp for some time is confirmed by entries in the account books kept by Christopher

38 See *Relations politiques*, X, 267, 270.

39 Th. F. Knox, ed. *The First and Second Diaries of the English College*, *Douay* (London, 1878), p. 126. Under August 3rd the Diary records: ‘Eodem die huc venerunt ab Antverpia Mr Foulerus et Richardus Holtbeius qui ex Anglia illuc transfretaverat’.

Plantin and preserved in the Plantin-Museum of the great printer's adoptive city. Having abandoned double-entry bookkeeping in 1567, a form of book-keeping which he found too time-consuming, Plantin subsequently contented himself with the much simpler method of entering deliveries and payments to booksellers on the left-hand page of ledgers *(doibt)*, the righthand page being used for deliveries and payments received *(doibt avoir)*. In the ledger for 1577 there is an entry on the debit side which coincides with Fowler's first trip and which runs: 'Pour lobligation de fl. 230 faite ultima Julij', a transaction which took place on the last day of July; while on the credit side we find it recorded on 5 November and 23 December 1577 that Plantin received sums of money from Fowler's wife. From the debit side on the next page it further appears that John Fowler, before his departure, must have left in Plantin's safe-keeping a considerable number of books, to the value of more than 200 florins. The entry runs: 'Joannes Foulerus doibt avoir pour aultant que monte le receue de laultre coste de *feuille* 13-fl. 111. Item in Julio anno 1577 avons receu q*ue*lques livres en garde lesquels montent-fl. 206. st. 16.' The next entry on the credit side was not made until several months later, on 24 March 1578, and concerned an item taken from Plantin's *Journal*[40].

That Fowler was in July 1577 busy closing down his printing business appears from a piece of evidence I owe to the researches of Dr L. Van den Branden in the Municipal Archives in Antwerp. Register 2181 of the *Rekenkamer* fol. 76 verso (= Cohier van de 3de 100ste penning van de 2de wijk, 1577) yields an entry from which it appears that Fowler had rented a house named Rodenborch, situated in the Kammerstraat, the proprietor of which was the printer Peter Bellerus. He must have given notice of removal in 1577 for on 1 July 1577 the printer Jan Van Waesbergen rented the house and paid fl. 25/18/5, Fowler's name in the entry being

40 Museum Plantin-Moretus, Grootboek, *Archives* 41, fol. 13 and fol. 14. Plantin mostly reckoned in Carolus-guilder or florin, divided into 20 *stuivers* (abbr. as st.) or *patars.* For currency values see L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I, 440.

crossed out and replaced by Van Waesbergen's[41]. From the moment of his arrival in Antwerp about the middle of 1573 Fowler therefore kept his shop in the Kammerstraat, which was the centre of the Antwerp printing trade where the great Plantin also lived.

It is reasonable to suppose that Fowler's journeys to Douay were undertaken with a view to transporting printing equipment and books, a supposition which seems to be borne out by a significant passage in Alice Fowler's request. Just when Alice joined her husband does not appear from any preserved evidence but that she did join him with her father is clear from passages in the *Douay Diaries.*

The Fowlers were not to stay in Douay for much longer than six months. A further removal became necessary because of new military and political developments. The victory of Don Juan over the States Army in Gembloux on the last day of January 1578 brought the country into a state of such great confusion and turmoil that for about nine months allegiances were more passionately divided than ever before, with the political future of the area being extremely uncertain and confused. During that period a deep rift developed between the higher ecclesiastical authorities and the nobility on the one hand, and the ordinary population and the supporters of William of Orange on the other, as to whether the authority of Philip II and his governors Don Juan and Farnese, or that of the Estates General should be adhered to. Striking evidence of the new mood appears from the abusive use of the label

41 I thank Dr L. Van den Branden for interpreting the entry, which runs as follows:
‘Cammerstrate
425
S^{t} p^{a} Julij
Jan waesbergen ~~Jan Foulerus~~ boeckuercooper huerlinck van*den* huyse genaempt Royenborch daer prop. aff is de selue peter voer - jc lxij gul*den* C^{e} penn*ing* - xxv gul*den* xviij st v d’
Dr Van den Branden has also drawn my attention to the fact that a child of Fowler, named Franciscus, was baptised in Antwerp on 25 January 1576. See *Parochieregister* 7 (Dopen O.-L.-Vrouw), fol. 165. The godparents were Thomas Woeten (= Wotton?) and Catherine Cappeler. From a further document in the Antwerp city Archives (*Vierschaar* 1400 fol. 93 v^{o}) it also appears that Fowler's house was situated next to a house called ‘de vette hinne’, Fowler standing bail on 19 May 1576.

'Johannists' which had a great vogue in 1577-78. Indeed, support for the Estates was growing and hostilities broke out to such a degree that the English Catholics in Douay, including those of the English College there, were temporarily forced to seek refuge in Rheims where the Guises were in power. On 22 March 1578 the Douay seminarists left Douay accompanied by the Fowlers, John Harris (Fowler's father-in-law) and a number of other catholics. Though there is no direct evidence of these people leaving Douay, we possess an entry in the *Diaries* under 14 May 1578 when, on the occasion of a return of all the English at Rheims made to the magistrates on the vigil of the Ascension, 7 May, it was recorded that 'praeter studiosos vero erant etiam duae familiae, uno Joannis Harris senis, cum uxore, filia, genero et 5 parvulis'. Though at the beginning of November 1578 the political situation had considerably stabilised with new magistrates having assumed power in Douay so that the English College was asked to return, the College authorities declined the invitation and decided to stay in France, which they did for a further fifteen years[42]. In Rheims itself John Fowler joined his brother Francis, who in April 1578 left the city for Rome in the company of William Allen, the president of the College.

The nine months of confusion following Gembloux were months during which occurred what has come to be called the reconciliation of the Walloon provinces. This is of course not the place to describe this important episode of sixteenth century European history in detail - it has been studied by many[43] - suffice it to say that after months of skilful manoeuvring on the part of Farnese and his emissaries the Walloon provinces again accepted Philip's royal authority, in most cases after appointing new local magistrates. In Douay this *volte-face* of allegiance was officially ratified by an edict of the magistrates dated 6 November 1578[44]. John Fowler and his family could now safely return, and return they probably

42 See Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent* (1558-1795) (London, 1914), which offers full information on English Colleges.

43 L. van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse*, II, 196 ff.

44 See Joseph Lefèvere, ed. *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, vol. I (1577-1580) (Brussels, 1940), p. 410.

did. In the absence of evidence from archives it is idle to speculate on when this new removal took place, though Fowler seems to have set up as a bookseller for in 1578 there appeared the only known work with a Douay imprint to leave Fowler's shop, namely Gregory Martin's *A Treatise of Schisme.* The fact that many scholars have claimed that this imprint was a false one renders necessary an examination of the conditions under which Martin's book was printed.

The most recent scholarly book in which the English catholic printing-press is extensively treated is A.C. Southern's *Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582* (London, 1950). In this work it is argued that the imprint of Martin's *Treatise of Schisme*, DVACI./ Apud Iohannem Foulerum. / 1578. /, is false and that the *Treatise* in fact issued from William Carter's secret London press. Dr Southern points out that

> the printing of the *Treatise* is quite unlike that of Fowler. The type is poor; the factotum capitals are such as Fowler never employs; moreover, the printer has no Greek type.
> We may take it that the exact date of printing was December 1578 (two months, incidentally, before Fowler's death), for we read in the *Douay Diaries* under that date (recorded as a marginal reading):
> Hoc mense a quodam alumno seminarii nostri perscriptus et typis mandatus est liber quidam de non communicando cum haereticis[45].

That the exact date of printing was December 1578 I am prepared to accept, but that the publication itself should not have been involved with the fortunes of Fowler is disputable. One explanation of the imprint is that Fowler may have acted merely as a bookseller for this book, and this is why I would like to suggest that Fowler, whose relations with the higher clergy had always been particularly close, had the sale of the book entrusted to him and so the book's imprint could read *Duaci. Apud Iohannem Foulerum*, which simply meant that the *Treatise of Schisme* was obtainable from his shop. When Plantin used in his own imprints the words *Apud Christophorum Plantinum* it was understood, he wrote in a letter of 4 May 1586, that ‘il s'entend que je ne les [the books] ay pas imprimés mais

45 A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, p. 453. See also p. 343.

bien qu'ils sont à vendre à Anvers en nostre boutique'[46]. The fact, however, that the Bodleian copy of *A Treatise of Schisme* contains a note by Richard Topcliffe, an examiner of suspected priests and who often employed torture, makes it abundantly clear that Carter was the printer. This note, written in Topcliffe's own hand states that 'Wm. Carter hathe confessed he hath printed of theis bookes 1250' (see Southern, *Recusant Prose*, p. 453).

From the widow Fowler's request it is further clear that after her husband's death the family concern of both the sale and the printing of books was able to continue undisturbed, the widow Fowler expressly declaring that she had compositors' equipment and printing materials at her disposal to start work. Both the reference to 'matrices, fontes des lettres, formes...' and that to English catholic books 'non achevez ny du tout parfaictz' definitely dispose of the contention of A.C. Southern that Fowler was exclusively a stationer. It is further worth noting that during the months that the Fowlers stayed in Rheims the following entry in the *Douay Diaries* is to be found under the last of May 1578: 'Maii ultimo venit ex Anglia Laurentius Cooperus non post multos dies iterum in Angliam migraturus, postquam nimirum librorum catholicorum aliqualem copiam suis sibi nummis procurasset. Hos ut saepe ante fecerat simul cum seipso transportabat'. This entry provides striking contemporary evidence of the brisk crosschannel traffic in English catholic books.

But what other books does Dr Southern claim to be of Carter's printing? In addition to Martin's treatise just discussed, Dr Southern has attributed two more books to Carter's printing-house. They are *The exercise of a Christian life. Written in Italian... And newly translated into Englishe* and *Instructions and aduertisements*, *how to meditate the misteries of the rosarie of the most holy virgin Mary*, by Gaspar Loarte, an Italian Jesuit whose works were very popular on the Continent and who died in Spain in 1578. Both works are probably datable to 1579[47], and are of the group styled

46 See M. Rooses and J. Denucé, edd. *Correspondance de Plantin* (8 vols., Antwerp, 1883-1920), VII (1918), 320. Letter to Councillor Brughel.

47 We follow the bibliographical description of Loarte's works and their dating by A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Books...* 1558-1640 (see footnote 20).

n.p.d.. that is, no known printer, place or date of publication. Dr Southern maintains that the two works by Loarte issued from Carter's press, but the argument is only set out once in connection with Loarte's *Instructions and Advertisements.* It runs as follows:

> The printing of this book may be attributed to William Carter on the grounds of its resemblance to that of Gregory Martin's *Treatise of Schisme* (1578), which Carter acknowledged to be his printing. We note:
> 1. The style of the printing is similar, and
> 2. The three principal founts employed by the printer (10 pt. roman, 8 pt. roman and a small italic) are in every respect similar to the three founts used to supplement the blackletter fount of the *Treatise.*

The argument on bibliographical grounds as advanced here by Dr Southern is completely untenable. Mr J. Machiels, Librarian in the University Library of Ghent, has been so kind as to examine for me the copies of Martin's *Treatise of Schisme* and of the two Loarte books preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library in London and his conclusion, based on a comparison of the founts employed, is that the three are certainly the work of three different printers. Indeed, Dr Southern's examination of the text must have been carelessly made. Mr J. Machiels believes that Martin's *Treatise* is certainly the work of an experienced printer, while the two Loarte works were probably also printed in England.

There is, however, positive evidence that Alice Fowler was in some way concerned in the printing or the sale of Loarte's works. Besides the important request discussed in the second section of this study, *carton* 1276 of the *Conseil Privé Espagnol* also contains a further document, not a request this time but a copy of the authorisation whereby ‘Aloyse vefve de feu Jehan Foulerus’ was given the licence to print three works by Loarte, with ‘*Maî*tre Martin Cools Chantre de l'Église Collégiale de ceste ville, et vicaire de l'Archevesque de Malines’ acting as *censor librorum.* The licence, which looks like a copy, consists of two folio sheets bearing at the end the date: ‘faict en la ville de Bruxelles le XIXe de Novembre lan de grâce Mil Cincq Nonante trois.’ It is not necessary to quote the authorisation in its entirety because it is full of the tediously repetitive official phraseology, but the passage bearing on the titles

of the books to be printed deserves quotation. Alice Fowler was licensed to print, or to have printed for her ‘les sus*dits* trois livres, à scavoir les Instructions et advertissemens pour méditer, les quinze mistères du Rosaire de la très saincte Vierge Marie recoeuillees par led*ict* Père Gaspar Loart. Ensemble les méditations de la passion de no*st*re Seigneur Jésus Christ, avecq l'art de méditer du mesme autheur, et le susdit livret intitulé Plus*ieu*rs dévotes et S.tes pétitions communément appellées le psaultier de Jésus &. nouvellement traduict d'Anglois en François.’

None of these works seems to have survived in French as printed by a Douay press-man, the only French works by Loarte listed in Albert Labarre's *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle. Douai* (Baden-Baden, 1972) being Loarte's *Consolation des affligez*, of which two editions are listed for 1593 and 1594 respectively, both printed by Balthasar Bellère. The only work listed as being on sale in the widow Fowler's shop is J. De Cartheny's *Le voyage du chevalier errant* (1587), but it was printed by J. Trognesius[48]. However, English editions of two works by Loarte did appear and Alice Fowler was interested in Loarte's *Instructions and aduertisements*, of which an edition may or may not have been issued. The *Jesus Psalter*, on the other hand, here announced in a French translation, was one of the more important items of John Fowler's printing activity[49].

We may conclude this survey of John Fowler's life and works by describing briefly the subsequent fortunes of the family as they may be reconstructed on the basis of Plantin's account books. After Fowler's death, business relations with the great Antwerp printer

48 It is worth noting that in this very year 1587 Plantin had sent a large consignment of books to Alice Fowler. See *Journal* of 1587, f^{o} 112; ‘A Mademoiselle Alice Fowler librairesse à Douay suivant son mémoire, en ung tonneau adressé au Collège d'Anchin, à Douay.’ See also *Correspondance*, VIII, 287.

49 The reference is to *Certaine devout and godly petitions*, *commonly called Jesus Psalter.* Antverpiae. Apud Iohan. Foulerum. Anno. 1575. It is worth noting that the Huntington Library copy of Loarte's *Instructions and aduertisements* contains an engraving with the caption *Hieronymus Wierx fecit et excudebat.* The engraving has been pasted in and faces the title-page. Wierx (ca. 1553-1619), a well-known engraver of the Antwerp school whose pictures profusely illustrated the pages of the devotional books of the time, was very popular about 1580. This again provides a link with the Continent.

were resumed from Douay on 24 August 1582 and as from that date all accounts were in the name of the widow, Alice Fowler, until 13 July 1601, when they were closed in the presence of her daughter, who together with her husband can also be shown to have stayed in Antwerp in September 1601. For the settlement of the bills Alice Fowler relied on the good offices of her daughter. The money was 'baillé par mémoire à sa fille femme du S^{r} Tauler pour monstrer à sa mère (devant les cincquante florins assignés de payer à Martinus de Zoet) laquelle a respondu depuis d'accorder du tout, excepté une partie de 22 fl. 2 patars dont elle désiroit la spécification' (*Archives* 111, p. 123). On 19 January 1602 business was stopped altogether, both the priest Thomas Nelson and Alice Fowler's townsman, the well-known printer Balthazar Bellère, paying the 650 florins that were owed to Jan Moretus, Plantin's successor and son-in-law (*Arch.* 111, p. 162). This liquidation was of course occasioned by the fact that Alice Fowler felt her end drawing near. Of her correspondence one short letter has survived in the Plantin archives. It is signed in what looks like her own hand, but the text is in a rather awkward sounding Flemish which could hardly have been of her own devising[50]. The letter itself is not interesting, except that it establishes beyond doubt that Richard Hopkins spent the end of his life in Antwerp, and not in Paris as is generally accepted. In the pages headed 'la veufve de feu Jan Foulerus' in the Plantin records there are names of many English persons who in some way or other were instrumental in delivering books and making payments. Of these names those of the printer's relatives are obviously the most interesting because they help us to shed light on their precise relationship to him which has sometimes been a source of puzzlement to English students of the period.

Thus the John Fowler referred to in the correspondence of the informer William Udall, who was active between 1605 and 1612, was not the son of the well-known printer and publisher, but his

50 *Arch.* 117, p. 377: Eerwerdighen heere
Mine heere Richard Hopkins ick bed u.e. te betaelen twee hundert gylders aen Sier Morentourfe boekevercoeper wonnende in Camerstraet op gesicht van deesen briefe geschrijven den. 14. Aprilll 1593.
Alice Fouler

nephew[51]. In *Archives* 111, p. 61 there is an entry under the year 1605 which records that 'Jan Foulere nepheu de la vefve Fouleri à Douay' was in Jan Moretus's debt for a considerable sum. But there is yet a further interesting piece of information which the archives reveal. We have just learnt that Alice Fowler's daughter was the wife of a man whom the records call Tauler ('sa fille femme du S^{r} Tauler'), which, as will be confirmed by other evidence, is no doubt a scribe's rendering of Taylor. When it came to settling up the accounts of Alice Fowler it was her daughter and son-in-law who played an important part for on 11 December 1600 there is an entry to the effect of Robert Taylor's paying 30 florins ('à di 11 xbris receu par le S^{r} Robert Tauler', see *Arch.* 111, p. 123). It is interesting to find that in this very year 1600, Dr Robert Taylor was sent to a conference in Boulogne by the papal nuncio in Brussels, Ottavio Frangipani. This conference, which took place from the end of May to the beginning of August 1600, was designed to prepare peace negotiations between the Archduke Albert and Philip II on the one hand and Queen Elizabeth on the other, Spain and England having sent their commissioners[52]. A few years later Taylor became secretary to the Spanish ambassador in London, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, who had succeeded the Count of Villa Mediana during the summer of 1605. Albert Loomie, S.J., in a recent article[53], has pointed out that Robert Taylor died in the autumn of 1609 and that one of Don Pedro de Zuñiga's final decisions, before Zuñiga's departure for the Spanish court, 'was to move Francis Fowler into his brother-in-law's position in the staff of the embassy'. There is no doubt that this Francis Fowler, whom Loomie calls the Second, was the Francis Fowler who was baptised in Antwerp on 25 January 1576, and was thus a son of John Fowler, our subject (that is to say John Fowler I). The discovery of the baptismal entry (see footnote 41) of Francis Fowler II establishes the link with the family of the

51 See P.R. Harris, 'The Reports of William Udall, Informer, 1605-1612', *Recusant History*, VIII (1965-6), 192-249 and 252-297, esp. p. 220. It seems likely, therefore, that this later John Fowler was the son of Francis, the brother of the Louvain and Antwerp printer.

52 See A.J. Loomie, S.J., *The Spanish Elizabethans* (New York, 1963), p. 166.

53 A.J. Loomie, S.J., 'Francis Fowler II, English Secretary of the Spanish Embassy, 1609-1619', *Recusant History* XII (1973), 70-78.

great printer and it further enables us to suggest a few minor corrections in the genealogical table Loomie made of the Fowler family. Francis II's sister was Mary Fowler, who married Robert Taylor, secretary of English letters in London at the Spanish embassy from 1603 to 1609. But John Fowler II ('nepheu de la vefve Fouleri à Douay') was not a brother of Francis II and Mary, but perhaps a descendant of Francis Fowler I. Francis I, whose birth Loomie tentatively puts in 1540, was assistant to Joseph Creswell at the Spanish court from 1594 to about 1610.

In the memorials of affairs of state generally known as *Winwood's Memorials* there are several letters by Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English ambassador in Madrid, and in these letters there are several passages bearing on Robert Taylor and a certain Fowler, who, it has now become clear was Francis Fowler I, brother of the printer John. In a highly significant passage Cornwallis complained bitterly to the Earl of Salisbury about the intrigues of the Jesuits to which, so Cornwallis held, Pedro de Zuñiga and Taylor had become a party. On 10/20 January 1608 Cornwallis wrote to Salisbury as follows:

> Having set a Marke upon the late running Dispatches sent hither by the Spanish Ambassador, first by one Fowler that serves him there in his Howse, within few Daies after by Ryvers, and within two or three Weekes next ensueing by a third that came by way of the Low Countries, and now lately and lastlye by Ryvers himself, who (considering the hard time of the Year and the shortness of these Dayes) came hether in an admirable short time; and withall knowing ccrtainlye that the Ambassador (as by other my late Letters I have advertised) is wholly guyded and governed by the lurcking Jesuites there and their Resident Creswel here, and also that Fowler and Rivers carryed order for 50000 Duckets to be instantly delivered to the Hands of the Ambassador, I have imployed all my Laboures and Meanes to understand the Occasion[54].

A later passage in the same letter runs: 'The *Doctor* that is the Ambassador's Agent there holds Correspondencye with one Fowler, the confidentest Minister of Creswell; and whatever he

54 R. Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I* (London, 1725), II, 368.

pretendeth there, doth (as here I am informed) very bad and dangerous Offices.' When it is borne in mind that the seventeenth century Douay bookseller John Fowler II - the nephew of our subject - and his wife were well-known as dealers in Catholic books and that they were related to Dr Robert Taylor through the latter's wife, it is clear that the Fowlers were *au courant* with Spanish intrigue, the intimacy of Francis I with the notorious Jesuit Joseph Creswell further showing that the Fowlers took a very active part in furthering the religious policy of the Spanish Habsburgs, both in the field of diplomacy and in the dissemination of Catholic devotional literature in England. Joseph Creswell (1556-1623) was a prominent Jesuit who administered the finances of English Catholic Colleges in Spain at the end of the sixteenth century. After taking part in the administration of the English colleges of Douay and St. Omers Creswell retired to Ghent where he died in January 1623[55]. The family history of the Fowlers offers a striking illustration of the fact that those Catholics who emigrated from England were men whose social status had given them access to a sound education, which enabled them in their adoptive country to offer their services both to the nobility who held high government office and, of course, to the higher clergy.

55 See A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, pp. 194, 221, 229.

Supplement op de lijst van Nederlandse woordenlijsten en woordenboeken gedrukt tot 1600

door Dr. F. Claes s.j.
(Leuven)

In het besef dat bibliografisch werk voortdurend bijgewerkt moet worden, hebben we een aantal aanvullingen en verbeteringen verzameld op onze *Lijst van Nederlandse woordenlijsten en woordenboeken gedrukt tot* 1600, verschenen in *De Gulden Passer*, 49, 1971, p. 130-229, en ook afzonderlijk als volume IV in de reeks *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica* (Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1974).

Voor dit supplement hebben we dezelfde normen toegepast als voor de *Lijst* zelf. Zo nemen we verscheidene Keulse uitgaven van de *Nuclei* ven Murmellius op, die evenals de Deventer uitgaven een Nedersaksische tekst bevatten. Al is dit tweetalige grammatische werkje geen eigenlijk woordenboek, toch heeft het voor de geschiedenis van de lexicografie een zeker belang wegens de overeenkomst in indeling (volgens de Latijnse verbuigingen en vervoegingen) met andere werken, vooral met het *Dictionariolum* (1556) van Gallus. Om dezelfde reden, wegens de overeenkomst met de *Colloquia* of het *Vocabulare* van Berlaimont, nemen we ook weer gesprekboekjes van G. Meurier, J.L. Vives, G. de Vivre en Z. Heyns op. Behalve polyglotte werken hebben we dan als voornaamste nieuwe vondsten: de eerste Nederlands-Latijnse uitgave van de *Tersissima Latini eloquii collectanea* (1524) van Cingularius, een uitgave van *Der fielen... vocabulaer* (1581), een drietalige woordenlijst bij de

Ars notariatus (1585) van J. Thuys en twee Noordnederlandse schoolwoordenboeken uit 1596.

We willen hier toch ook even wijzen op enige werken die we niet hebben opgenomen en waarin ook lexicografisch materiaal te vinden is. In de eerste plaats zijn er bewerkingen van de *Grammatica* van Nicolaus Perottus, waarin verscheidene bladzijden Latijns-Nederlandse voorbeelden voorkomen: *Regulae grammaticales* (Leuven, 1485), *Institutio grammaticalis* (Leuven, ca. 1486), *Grammatica et ars metrica* (Antwerpen, 1493) en *Grammatica cum additionibus* (Deventer, 1504). Verder zijn er o.a. ook de *Composita verborum* (Deventer, ca. 1483) van Joannes de Garlandia, met een commentaar van Joannes Synthen, het *Exercitium puerorum grammaticale* (Antwerpen, 1484) en de *Dyasinthetica* (Deventer, ca. 1500) van Mattheus Herben.

De vijftiende- en zestiende-eeuwse plantenboeken, die zich ook niet als eigenlijke woordenlijsten aandienen, maar als geïllustreerde werken met vermelding van de plantennamen, bevatten ook waardevol lexicografisch materiaal. Voor een lijst hiervan verwijzen we naar twee bibliografische artikelen van A.J.J. Van de Velde in de *Versl. en Med. van de Kon. Vl. Academie*: *De Kruidboeken van Dodoens*, *Clusius en De Lobel* (1927, p. 13-41) en *Zuid- en Noordnederlandsche kruid- en tuinboeken vóór* 1800 (1931, p. 627-679 en 805-852).

Behalve nieuwe nummers vermelden we ook aanvullingen op reeds opgenomen nummers, met de erbij horende bibliografische verwijzingen en registers. Voor aanvullingen op bewaarplaatsen van uitgaven van het *Dictionarium* van Calepinus verwijzen we naar de bibliografie van Labarre (cf. de volgende blz.) over dit woordenboek; hiervoor kan ook onze bibliografie van Duitse woordenboeken (Bibl. Verz.) nagekeken worden.

Tenslotte wil ik nog een bibliografische aanvulling geven op mijn artikel over *Het Promptuariolum Latinae linguae* (1562) *van Plantijn*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 51, 1973, p. 1-8: van dit *Promptuariolum* uit 1562, waarvan ik drie jaar geleden alleen nog het exemplaar uit Troyes kende, heb ik twee andere exemplaren gevonden, in Stuttgart LB en in Xanten Stifts B. (3477).

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1. b) Bonn UB; Darmstadt LB; Düsseldorf LB.

3. a) Elliott 551.
   b) Parijs BN (X 881 + 1603).

4. a) Elliott 241.
   b) Parijs BN (Res X 1394).

5. a) Goff V 327.
   b) Washington Library of Congress.

7. a) Elliott 550.

b) Brussel KB (□ Inc. B 1533); 's-Gravenhage KB (169 E 17: i.p.v. B 1533); Luik UB (Inc. XVI 89.2); Parijs BN (X 658).

8. b) 's-Gravenhage KB (170 E 3: i.p.v. 170 G 3).

9. b) 's-Gravenhage KB (170 G 10).

14. a) KC I 1749a (i.p.v. 749a).

26. b) Hildesheim Dom B. (□ EG 420).

27. Dit nummer vervalt. De uitgave Cop. 1853, CA 516 is een Duits-Latijnse, gedrukt ca. 1499 te Keulen (cf. Bibl. Verz. 136). Het exemplaar Goff V 327 hoort echter onder nr. 5.

28. b) Amsterdam Kon. Ned. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Instituut voor Dialectologie, Volkskunde en Naamkunde (BB 4711).

31. b) 's-Gravenhage KB (171 G 107: i.p.v. 171 G 28); Celle B. Oberlandesgericht (B IV 416).

36. a) Elliott 248.

39. a) Elliott 249.
b) 's-Gravenhage KB (170 G 70: i.p.v. 150 G 70); Göttingen SUB (8° Ling. IV 3720 Incun.); Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (Kg 371); Keulen UB (G B II a 283 f); Parijs BN (Res m X 45).

41. b) Mainz St B (Ink. 2091).

42. b) Marburg UB (an Mscr. 363); Münstereifel Gymn. B. (K 53); Soest St B. (Inc. 83).

44. b) 's-Gravenhage KB (171 G 77).

45. a) CA 786 (i.p.v. 768).
b) Haarlem Bissch. Mus. (Kruitwagen 31); Wiesbaden LB (Inc. 251); Xanten Stifts B. (3441).

49. b) Celle B. Oberlandesgericht (B IV 465); Göttingen SUB (8° Ling. IV 3736).

54. b) Detmold Lippische LB (Incun. Ph. 132. 4°: defect).

57. b) Trier StB (G 338 + 328); Heidelberg UB (D 9918).

60. b) Xanten Stifts B. (1 an 3461).

68. b) Detmold Lippische LB (2 an Ph 1293); Stuttgart LB (alte Phil. 8° 866).

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77. b) Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (□ P 546 b Helmst. 4°/7).

88. b) Londen BM (12932 b 2/2).

89. b) Leiden UB (1498 B 4).

97. b) München SB (Polygl. 87/2); Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (□ 33.1 Gramm.).

108. a) Alston II 1.
b) Londen BM (fotocopie); Wolfenbüttel Herz. B.(□ P 1089 Helmst. 8^{o}).

116. b) Leiden UB (1498 B 4) vervalt (is nr. 89).

117. b) Trier StB.

125. a) Labarre 68.
b) Mainz StB (1 g 96); München UB (4^{o} Phil. 131 a); Nijmegen UB; Stockholm KB; Wenen NB (75 V 55); Xanten Stifts B. (3431).

126. a-o^{8}. 112 ff. (laatste blad leeg).
a) Alston Suppl. 4 b; Gallina 40.
b) Dresden LB; Rome B. Valicelliana (Q IV 184); Turijn SB.

127. b) München SB (□ Polygl. 111).

130. b) Hildesheim Dom B. (□ C 177); Rotterdam Gemeente B.

131. a) Labarre 69; Nat. Un. Cat. C 0028225.
b) Aken Lehrer Bd. Kaiser Karls Gymnasiums; 's-Hertogenbosch Minderbr. Kap.; Keulen UB (GB II a 25 b); New York Columbia Univ.; Stanford Univ. Libr.

143. b) München SB (4° Polygl. 85).

145. a) Alston II 10; Nat. Un. Cat. D 0256660.
b) Chicago Newberry Libr.

152. b) Bonn UB.

154. a) Nat. Un. Cat. M 0914086.
b) Cambridge Harvard University.

160. b) Het origineel bevindt zich in de Gemeentebibliotheek te Rotterdam (51 D 37).

169. b) Stuttgart LB (neuere Phil. 8° 5154); Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (P 1138. 8° Helmst.).

170. b) München SB (4° L. 1. fil. 32).

173. a) Alston II 13; Gallina 40.
b) Zwickau Ratsschul B. (5.6.44).

176. a) Van Selm 224-225; Nat. Un. Cat. M 0498570.
b) Augsburg SB; St. Gallen StB (Ja 4560/5); Trier StB (G 624); Lawrence University of Kansas.

182. b) Mainz StB (560/5).

187. Antwerpen, Jean Waesberghe (Ameet Tavernier dr.), 1562.
b) Marburg UB (V C 9978).

191. b) Antwerpen Archivum Capucinorum Belgii (603/32).

195. b) 's-Hertogenbosch Minderbr. Kapuc.; Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (P 1026. 8° Helmst.).

199. b) Lucca B. Governativa (Y VIII a 46).

204. b) München SB (Polygl. 16).

205. b) Trier StB (G 305).

206. b) Amsterdam UB (2007 D 17: defect); Parijs BN (X 11682).
c) Uitgegeven met commentaar van R. Nash in 1940, gewijzigde herdruk te Antwerpen in 1964.

207. a) Gallina 135.

b) Braunschweig StB (8° C 45); Göttingen UB (8 Ling I 2294); Padua StB (F 1274); Breslau UB (31932/8 E 2158,1 + 454026); Trier StB (G 39); Wiesbaden LB (Weilb. 107).

208. a) Gallina 141; Nat. Un. Cat. J 0198413.
b) Breslau UB (Phil. un. II oct. 80); München SB (Polygl. 82); Neurenberg StB; Austin Univ. of Texas; New Haven Yale Univ.; New York Public Libr.; New York Columbia Univ.; New York Botanical Garden Bronx Park; Parijs B. Arsenal (8° BL 153); Urbana Univ. of Illinois; Washington Folger Shakespeare Libr.

210. b) München SB (Polygl. 48).

211. a) Gallina 154-159.
b) Venetië B. Marciana (52 d 130); Leuven F. Claes □ fotocopie van het exemplaar uit Londen.
c) Italiaans-Latijns-Spaans-Nederlands alfabetisch woordenboek, met af en toe ook Franse, Turkse en Duitse woorden.

219. b) Trier StB (G 346 a).

221. = 220. (cf. Labarre 116).

222. A-F^{8}. 77 (recte 89) + 3 ff.
b) Göttingen SUB (□ 8° Ling. I 2520).

232. a) Gallina 40.
b) Rome B. Angelica (0.5.25).

235. Antonius Silvius, *Puerilium Colloquiorum Formulae ex probatissimis quibusque autoribus in gratiam studiosorum tyrunculorum coactae*, *una cum Gallica et Teutonica interpretatione.* Lovanii, Joannes Bogaert, 1573. 4^o. A-M^4, N^2. 50 ff.
b) Augsburg S und StB (□ 4^o Spw 412).

237. b) Edinburgh Nat. Libr. (K 143 a; Edinb. Sh. Title 350); Bologna UB (Coll. A IV.I.II 12).

238. b) Münstereifel Gymn. B. (SJ 1573/4; Siegel 1839).

244. cf. Labarre 124.
246. a) Nat. Un. Cat. M 0498569.
b) Madrid BN (2/61960); Cambridge Harvard University (defect).

247. cf. Labarre 125.
253. b) Stuttgart LB (Hb 616).

257. a) Alston II 70; Gallina 141; Nat. Un. Cat. J 0198414.
b) Aberdeen UB; Atchison St. Benedict's College; Augsburg S und StB (8^o Spw 1093); Avignon B. Calvet; Frankfurt StUB (Phil. 485/998); Göttingen SUB (8 Ling I 2296); Breslau UB (381843/ 8 V 853); Kamerijk BM; Hannover LB (La 549); New York Public Libr.; Neurenberg StB; München SB (Polygl. 83); Oxford Corpus Christi College; Oxford Worcester College; Philadelphia Univ. of Pennsylvania; Urbana Univ. of Illinois; Regensburg SB; Stanford Univ. Libr.; Troyes BM; Venetië B. Marciana (19 T 158); Washington Folger Shakespeare Libr.; Stuttgart LB (alte Philol. 8^o 1243); Zweibrücken B. Bipontina.

259. Dit nummer vervalt. Deze uitgave, hoewel te Antwerpen uitgegeven, bevat geen Nederlands, maar Duits (cf. Bibl. Verz. 595).
267. b) München SB (L. lat. 800 + L. lat. 418/1 + PO hisp. 14 m/2).

268. a) Alston II 18; Gallina 40; Nat. Un. Cat. D 0256661.
b) Ann Arbor Univ. of Michigan; Washington Folger Shakespeare Libr. (STC 6830.5).

269. Dit nummer vervalt. Het jaartal 1580, dat in de in 1787 uitgegeven catalogus van de SB Belfort staat, komt volgens een brief uit Belfort van 5 juli 1975 niet voor in het werk zelf, waaraan het slot ontbreekt; het exemplaar dateert volgens de beschrijving pas van 1627.
272. b) Stuttgart LB (HB 1845).

275. l*Colloquia sex linguarum noviter impressa*l *Germanice*, *Gallice*, *Belgice*, *Latine*, *Hispanice et Italice.* Antwerpen, Henricus Heyndrickx, (approbatio 25 juni 1582). 8° obl. A-Z^8, Aa-Kk^8, Ll^{12}. 276 ff.

a) Gallina 89.

b) Modena B. Estense (A 74 A 3: titelblad ontbreekt).

279. De juiste collatie is: $*^4$, A-Z^8, Aa-Ee^8, Ff^4, Gg^2. 4 + 230 ff.

280. a) Alston II 30.

b) Milaan BN; Praag UB; Antwerpen Archivum Capucinorum Belgii (□ 601/45).

282. a) Alston II 71; Gallina 148; Nat. Un. Cat. J 0198415.

b) Augsburg S und StB (8° Spw 1094); Baltimore Peabody Institute;

Chicago Newberry Libr.; Canterbury Cathedral Libr.; Chapel Hill Univ. of North Carolina; Durham Duke Univ.; Besançon BM (210 376); Chicago John Crerar Libr.; Heidelberg UB; Laubach Gräflich Solms Laubach'sche B. (Fr. M.E. 16,23); Lund UB; München SB (Polygl. 84 + 84a); Göttingen SUB (8 Ling. I 2298); Keulen UB (WA IV 9 + GB IIa 27b); Nantes BM; Nancy BM; Padua B. Civica (N 3713); Parijs B. Arsenal; Passau SB; Reutlingen StB; New York Public Libr.; Stuttgart LB (HB 1122 + alte Philol. 8^{o} 1242); Trier StB (N 15/142 + 265); Washington Folger Shakespeare Libr.; Williamstown Williams College Chapin Libr.; Breslau UB (400812 + 454024 + 454029 + 457782).

286. a) Bibl. Gant. 694 (i.p.v. 693).

287. Basel, Sebastianus Henricpetri, Sept. 1584. fol.): (^{4}, a-z^{8}, A-Z^{8}, Aa-Zz^{8}, AA-ZZ^{8}, A-V^{8}. 8 ff., 1467, 315, (1) pp.
cf. Labarre 142.

292. Basel, per Frobenios, 1585. 8^{o}. A-Z^{8}, a-g^{8}, h^{6}. 248 ff.
a) Gallina 89.
b) A. Gallina; Breslau UB (453693); vroeger Berlijn SB (verloren).

298. a) Alston II 32.
b) Breslau UB; Oxford Bodl. Libr.; Straatsburg BN en U.

303. a) Alston II 33.
b) Breslau UB; Brno UB; Washington Folger Shakespeare Libr.

305. c) Deze uitgave bevat alleen het Frans-Nederlandse deel (i.p.v. het Nederlands-Franse deel).

309. Dit nummer vervalt. Ten onrechte droeg het exemplaar van de B. de l'Arsenal in een oude catalogus het jaartal 1590. Dit exemplaar dateert zeker van na 1626 en zeer waarschijnlijk van 1654, evenals de andere exemplaren van het *Dictionarium novem linguarum* van Calepinus, *s.a.* uitgegeven door Abraham Commelinus te Leiden (cf. Labarre 190).

310. cf. Labarre 152.
b) Antwerpen SB (C 888) moet wegvallen: dit exemplaar, waaraan het kolofon ontbreekt, dateert van na 1600.

311. 1591 (kolofon: 1589).
a) Alston II 34.
b) Amberg Provinzial B.; Breslau UB; Göttingen SUB.

312. a) Alston II 73; Gallina 148; Nat. Un. Cat. J 0198416.
b) Aberdeen UB; Augsburg S und St B (8^{o} Spw 1095); Bethesda Us National Libr. of Medecine; Brno UB (ZD 16 VII 2); Detmold

Lippische LB (BR 60); Breslau UB (454027 + 454042); Durham Duke Univ.; Edinburgh Nat. Libr. (Newb.; Edinb. Sh. Title 199); Göttingen UB (8 Ling. I 2300); Hannover LB (Bu 278); Oxford Bodl. Libr.; Linköping Stifts B,; München SB (Polygl. 85); Marburg UB (II C 62c: verloren 1952); Philadelphia Temple Univ.; Praag UB; Passau SB; Keulen UB (GB II a 27 c); Padua UB (109 b 133); Tübingen UB (Ca 79a); Stuttgart LB (alte Philol. 8^{o} 1244); Heidelberg UB; Urbana Univ. of Illinois; Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (Kb 465 + 36 Gram).

318. a) Alston II 35.
b) Grenoble BM; London Victoria and Albert Museum; Oxford Bodl. Libr.

326. a) Alston II 36.
b) Washington Shakespeare Folger Libr.

327. A-Z^{8}, Aa-Kk^{8}, Ll^{6}. 270 ff.
b) Augsburg S und StB (□ Spw 2439); Breslau UB (452202); Hannover LB (IV 9 A: verloren, cf. bezoek op 16 juli 1974).

328. a) Lipenius 551.
b) Cf. nr. 382.

333. a) Alston II 74; Gallina 148; Nat. Un. Cat. J 0198417.
b) Chicago Univ.; Detmold Lippische LB (Ph 2732); Bloomington Indiana Univ.; Groningen UB; Frankfurt a.M. StUB (□ F f m 1/952); Nîmes BM; Lodz UB; Oxford Bodl. Libr.; Philadelphia Univ. of Pennsylvania; Padua B. Civica (F 10.640); Passau SB; Parijs B. Sorbonne; Nantes BM; Stockholm KB; Stuttgart LB (□ Phil oct 1245); Urbana Univ. of Illinois; Breslau UB (381844/ 8 V 854 + 454028); Tübingen UB (Ca 79 b); Troyes BM; München SB (□ Polygl. 86).

334. = 333.

336. a) Alston II 37.
b) Washington Shakespeare Folger Libr.

340. a) Alston II 38.
b) Breslau UB; Jena UB; Lübeck St B; Urbana Univ. of Illinois; Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (107 Gram); Zwickau Ratsschul B. (5.8.45).

341. cf. Labarre 162

348. *$_{*}$*^{4}, A-Z^{8}, Aa-Zz^{8}, Aaa-Fff^{8}, Ggg^{4}. 428 ff.
b) Xanten Stifts B. (3755).

350. a) Alston II 39.
b) Urbana Univ. of Illinois.

Nieuwe nummers

356. Joannes Murmellius, *Nuclei.* Keulen, Quentell, 22 maart 1515. 4^{o}. aa-bb^{6}, cc^{4}, dd^{6}. 22 ff.

a) Reichl. Murm. XXXII 2.

b) Wernigerode Gräfl. Stolberg B.; Cambridge UB (F 151. d. 1. 15; Adams M 1983).

c) Eerste uitgave in 1514. Hoewel te Keulen uitgegeven, bevat deze druk toch Nedersaksische vertalingen, zoals de Deventer uitgaven; dit geldt eveneens voor de volgende hier vermelde Keulse drukken uit 1516 (twee), 1519, 1528 en 1566.

357. Joannes Murmellius, *Nuclei.* Keulen, Martinus de Werdena, 22 maart 1516. 4^{o}. A^{8}, B-C^{4}, D^{8}. 24 ff.

b) Detmold Lippische LB (1 an Ph.144.c.4^{o}).

c) Eerste uitgave in 1514.

358. Joannes Murmellius, *Nuclei.* Keulen, Erven Quentell, oktober 1516. 4°. aa-bb^6, cc^4, dd^6. 22 ff.
   a) Borchl. Clauss. 583; Reichl. Murm. XXXII 4.
   b) 's-Gravenhage KB (227 F 25: 3; Pennink 1609); Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (63 Qu.4°/2).
   c) Eerste uitgave in 1514.

359. Joannes Murmellius, *Nuclei.* Keulen, Quentell, mei 1519. 4°. aa-bb^6, cc^4, dd^5. 21 ff.
   a) Reichl. Murm. XXXII 6.
   b) Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (Li Sammelbd 226/1); Zwickau Ratsschul B.
   c) Eerste uitgave in 1514.

360. Hieronymus Cingularius, *Tersissima Latini eloquij Synonymorum Collectanea*, *iuuentuti Latine discenti longe utilissima.* Antwerpen, Michael Hillen, 1524. 4°. (8), A-C^8, D^4, E-H^8, I^4, K^8. (6), 52, (22) ff. (laatste blad leeg).
   b) Mainz StB (I r 963).
   c) Nederlands-Latijnse bewerking van de Duits-Latijse *Collectanea* van Cingularius (eerste uitgave Wittenberg 1513), waarvan later ook een Frans-Nederlands-Latijnse uitgave verscheen (eerste uitgave 1529, nr. 90).

361. Joannes Murmellius, *Nuclei de nominum verborumque declinationibus.* Keulen, Peter Quentell, 1528. 4°. A^4, b^4, C-D^4, E^6. 22 ff.
   b) Londen BM (12932 c 17).
   c) Eerste uitgave in 1514.

362. *Sex linguarum*, *Latine*, *Teuthonice*, *Gallice*, *Hispanice*, *Italice*, *Anglice*, *dilucidissimus dictionarius. Vocabulaer in sesterley talen*, *Latyn*, *Duytsch*, *Walsch*, *Spaens*, *Italiaens*, *& Engelsch*, *seer profitelick alle beminders der talen.* Southwarke, James Nicolson for John Renys, 1537. 8°. A-I^8, K^{10}. 82 ff.
   a) Alston II 2.
   b) Bremen UB (Ic60); Cambridge Sidney Sussex College (B b 6.2).
   c) Eerste uitgave in 1534, in vijf talen (zonder Engels).

363. *Le dictionnaire des huict languages: grec*, *latin*, *flamang*, *francois*, *espagnol*, *italien*, *anglois et aleman.* Paris, Jehan Ruelle, 1548. 12°. a-o^8. 112 ff. (laatste blad leeg).
   a) Alston II 5.
   b) Oxford Bodl. Libr.
   c) Eerste uitgave in 1546.

364. *Le Dictionnaire des huict langaiges: grec*, *latin*, *flamang*, *francois*, *espagnol*, *italien*, *anglois et aleman*, *fort utile et necessaire pour tous studieux.* Parijs, Guillaume Thibout, 1550. 16°.

a) Brunet II 695; Graesse II 387; Gallina 40.
b) Geen exemplaar bekend.
c) Eerste uitgave in 1546.

365. *Le Dicionnaire des huict langaiges: grec*, *latin*, *flamang*, *francois*, *espagnol*, *italien*, *anglois et aleman.* Parijs, Guillaume Thibout, 1552. 16°.

a) Graesse VIII 246; Alston II 11; Gallina 40.
b) Geen exemplaar bekend.
c) Eerste uitgave in 1546.

366. *Le Dictionaire des huict langaiges: C'est à sçauoir Grec*, *Latin*, *Flameng*, *Francois*, *Espagnol*, *Italien*, *Anglois & Aleman.* Parijs, Chez la veufue Guillaume le Bret, 1552. 16°. a-o^{8}. 112 ff. (laatste blad leeg).
b) München SB (Polygl. 41).
c) Eerste uitgave in 1546.

367. Gabriel Meurier, *Dialogue*, *contenant les conjugaisons Flamen-Françoises.* Antwerpen, Christoffel Plantijn, 1562. 4°. A-H^{4}. 32 ff.
a) Van Selm 222-223.
b) St. Gallen Stadt B. (Ja 4560/3); Trier Stadt B. (G 624).
c) Frans-Nederlands gesprekboekje, met vervoegingen in zinnetjes verwerkt.

368. Juan Luis Vives, *Les Dialogues*, *translatés de Latin en François et Flamen*, *pour la commodité de la jeunesse. De Tsamencoutinghen*, *overgheset uut den Latijn in Franchois ende Nederduytsch*, *tot behoef vander Joncheyt.* Antwerpen, Jan Waesberghe, 1562. 4°. A-Z^{4}, &^{4}. 96 ff.
a) Mantou 158-159.
b) Bergen B. Centre Univ. (R 10/ G 944/2).
c) Latijns-Frans-Nederlands gesprekboekje.

369. Gabriel Meurier, *Deviz familiers propres a tous marchans*, *desireux de bien entendre Francois & Flamen.* Antwerpen, Jan Waesberghe, 1564. 4°. A-Q^{4}. 64 ff.
a) Van Selm 221-222.
b) St. Gallen Stadt B. (Ja 4560/2).
c) Latere uitgaven in 1590 (nr. 307) en 1595.

370 Gabriel Meurier, *La Guirlande des jeunes filles. Den Crans der jonge Dochters*, *Duytsch en Franchois.* Antwerpen, Jan Waesberghe, 1564. 4°. A-Q^{4}. 64 ff.
a) Van Selm 223-224.
b) St. Gallen Stadt B. (Ja 5460/4).
c) Latere uitgaven in 1580 (nr. 265) en 1587 (nr. 300).

371. Gabriel Meurier, *Propos puerils ordinairement usez es escoles vulgaires. Kinderredenen*, *Franchois ende Duytsch.* Antwerpen, Jan Waesberghe (Ameet Tavernier dr.), 1565. 4°. A-T^{4}. 76 ff.
a) Van Selm 221.
b) St. Gallen Stadt B. (Ja 4560/1).
c) Latere uitgaven in 1597 (nr. 338) en 1599 (nr. 345).

372. Joannes Murmellius, *Nuclei.* Keulen, Johann Gymnick, 1566. 8°. A-E^{8}. 40 ff.
   a) Reichl. Murm. XXXII 9.
   b) Münster UB (Lib. Rar. X 3044/d).
   c) Eerste uitgave in 1514.

373. *Le dictionaire des huict langaiges: c'est assavoir Grec*, *Latin*, *Flamen*, *François*, *Espagnol*, *Italien*, *Anglois*, *& Aleman.* Parijs, Anthoine Houic, 1569. 16°. a-n^{8}. 104 ff. (laatste blad leeg).

b) München SB (□ Polygl. 42).
c) Eerste uitgave in 1546.

374. Gabriel Meurier, *La Premiere Partie de divers deviz familiers bien propres a tous Marchans*, *& non moins utiles à ceulx qui desirent auoir (auec facile intelligence) meilleur usage de parler Francoys*, *que pour le passé.* Antwerpen, Jean Waesberghe, 1570. 4^o. A-X^4, Y^2. (4), 81 ff. (laatste blad leeg).
b) Augsburg S und StB (□ 4^o Spw 284).
c) Latere uitgave in 1590 (nr. 307).

375. Gerard de Vivre, *Douze Dialogues et Colloques*, *traitans de diverses matieres*, *trespropres aux nouveaux apprentifs de la langue française. Twaelf tsamen-sprekingen Tracterende van verscheyden Materie*, *seer bequame voor de nieu leer-iongers der Fransoisscher Spraken.* Antwerpen, Jan Waesberghe, 1574. 4^o. A^2, B-S^4. (2), 68 ff.
b) München SB (□ 4^o L. Lat. f 61).
c) Latere uitgave in 1581 (nr. 271).

376. Hadrianus Junius, *Nomenclator*, *omnium rerum propria nomina variis linguis explicata indicans: multo quàm antea emendatior ac locupletior.* Antwerpen, Christoffel Plantijn, 1575 (kolofon: september 1576). 16^o. 4 ff., 432 pp., 35 ff.
a) Nat. Un. Cat. J 0198413.
b) Annapolis US Naval Academy; New York Public Libr.
c) Eerste uitgave in 1567.

377. *Colloquia et Dicionariolum sex linguarum: Teutonicae*, *Latinae*, *Germanicae*, *Gallicae*, *Hispanicae*, *& Italicae. Ghemeyne gespreche oder Colloquia mit einem Dictionario in sechs sprachen: Niderlendish*, *Latinish*, *Teutsh*, *Frantzosisch*, *Spanish und Welsh.* Antwerpen, Henric Heyndrickx (Gillis van den Rade dr.), 1576. 8^o obl. $*^4$, §^{8}, A-Z^8, Aa-Cc^8, Dd^4. 224 ff.
b) Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (□ P 214 Helmst. 12^o); Antwerpen Archivum Capucinorum Belgii (□ 601/11; defect: inz. titelblad en slot ontbreken).
c) Eerste uitgave (Frans en Nederlands) ca. 1530.

378. Ambrosius Calepinus, *Dictionarium linguarum septem. Respondent autem Latinis vocabulis Graeca*, *Italica*, *Gallica*, *Hispanica*, *Germanica*, *Belgica.* Basel, Ex Officina Henricpetrina, 1579. fol. $*^4$, a-c^6, a-z^8, A-Z^8, Aa-Zz^8, AA-ZZ^8, AAa-MMm^8, NNn^6 (laatste blad leeg), A-X^8, Y^{10}. 22 ff., 1674, 355 pp.
a) Nat. Un. Cat. C 0028213; Labarre 134.
b) Bamberg SB; Brno UB (R IV a 5565 + ST 3-169.634); Budapest UB; Cluj Academia; Colmar BM (XI 9726); Debrecen UB (796910); Donaueschingen Fürstl. Fürstenb. Hof B.; Basel UB (DB II 13); Aarau KantonsB. (Wb 48); Dillingen Studien B.; Frauenfeld KantonsB. (8005); Genève BPU (Hb 388); Graz UB; Helsinki UB

(19 I 4); Klagenfurt SB (4817); Milaan BN Braid.; München UB (2^{o} Philol. 252); München SB (2^{o} Polygl. 5); Montbéliard BM (w□ 214); Nürnberg Germ. Mus. (2^{o} Sp. 73); Nürnberg StadtB. (Phil. 227.2^{o}); Napels BN; Passau SB; Poznan UB (Na 15228/2 +

SD 530 II); Praag UB (8 A 19); Philadelphia Univ. of Pennsylvania (Sp. 409.3/ C 12b/F); Regensburg Hof B. (Sp L lex 4); Rostock UB Ca 452); Stockholm KB; Stuttgart LB (HBb 137 + Phil. fol. 41); Üeberlingen Leopold Sophien B.; Villanova (Pennsylvania) College; Warschau UB (28.II.I.14); Zwickau Ratsschul B. (26.2.4.5).

c) Eerste uitgave in 1570.

379. *Der fielen*, *rabauwen oft der schalcken vocabulaer*, *oock de bereysde manieren der bedeleeren oft bedelerssen. Van nieus oversien ende verbetert.* Antwerpen, Jan van Ghelen de jonghe, 1581. 8°. A-E^{8}. 40 ff. (laatste blad leeg).

a) Nat. Un. Cat. L 0336232.
b) Chicago Newberry Libr.
c) Eerste uitgave in 1563.

380. [Jacques Thuys], *Ars Notariatus*, *oft Conste en□ stijl van Notarisschap. Tweeden druck.* Antwerpen, Hendrick Hendricsen, 1585. 8°.:^{8}, A-P^{8}. 16 ff., 211 pp., 6 ff.

b) Leuven UB KUL (□ A 54151; defect: A$^{1-8}$ ontbreekt).
c) Woordenlijst van Nederlandse, Latijnse en Franse termen van f.:^{5} tot A^{8} (24 pp.). De eerste (Antwerpen, Simon Cock, 1541) en de derde uitgave (Antwerpen, Arnout Coninx, 1590) bevatten geen woordenlijst.

381. Gabriel Meurier, *The coniugations in Englishe and Netherdutche. De coniugatien in Engelsch ende Nederduytsche.* Leyden, Thomas Basson, 1586. 8°. A-G^{4}. 53, (3) pp.

a) Alston II 499; G.R.W. Dibbets in *Taal en Tongval* 21 (1969), pp. 128-133.
b) Bamberg Stadt B. (Phil. 0.400); London BM (microfilm: *L 499).
c) Engels-Nederlandse werkwoorden, vertaling van het Frans-Engelse *Coniugaisons Francois-Angloises* (Antwerpen, J. Waesberge, 1563) van Meurier.

382. *Lexicon Teutonico-Latino-Gallicum.* Franeker, 1587. 8°.

a) Lipenius 551; Quemada Amon. 37.
b) Geen exemplaar bekend.
c) Cf. nr. 328.

383. [Zacharias Heyns], *Vxor Μεμψ□γαμος*, *Twee-spraeck van een goede Huys-vrouwe*, *ende een quaet Huys-wijf. Dialogue d'vne bonne Matrone*, *& mauvaise Mesnagere.* Haarlem, Gillis Rooman, voor Zacharias Heyns [te Amsterdam], 1592. 8°. A-D^{8}, E^{2}. 34 ff.

a) Bibl. Belg. E 768; Moes-Burger IV 640; Laceulle 78.
b) Gent UB (□ Res. 1215); Hamburg SB.

c) Nederlands-Frans gesprekboekje, vertaling van een dialoog van Erasmus, *Coniugium sive Uxor Μεμψ□γαμος*, volgens de opdracht het werk van Z. Heyns.

384. *Dictionarium seu Dialogi septem linguarum.* Frankfurt a. M., Zacharias Palthenius, 1595. 8°.

a) Verd. Vocab. 40; Draudius 1344; Lipenius 381, 810 a.
b) Geen exemplaar bekend.
c) Eerste uitgave (met enkel Nederlands en Frans) ca. 1530.

385. Gabriel Meurier, *Deviz familiers pour parler francoys et flamen.* Rotterdam, 1595.
   a) *Katalog der Grossherzoglichen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Carlsruhe.* Karlsruhe, I. (1876), p. 60, nr. 2473.
   b) Karlsruhe LB (maar nu verloren; cf. B. van Selm in *Dokumentaal* 3 (1974). p. 76).
   c) Eerste uitgave 1590.

386. Heinrich Decimator, *Tertia pars Sylvae vocabulorum et phrasium*, *sive Nomenclator.* Lepzig, Michael Lantzenberger impensis Heningi Grossii, 1596. 8^{o}. $(.)^{8}$, $(.)^{4}$, A-Z^{8}, Aa-Zz^{8}, Aaa-Ttt^{8}, Vuu^{6}. 12 ff., 1049 pp. (laatste blad leeg).
   a) Nat. Un. Cat. D 0106958; Gallina 196.
   b) Ost-Berlin SB (Wb 1205); Freiburg i.B. UB; Bamberg SB (L. e.h.o. 2(2); Maastricht Stadsb. (4837; Flament 4669); Mainz Stadt B. (Sprach 595/a. ö + I Zb 1306); München SB (Polygl. 38); Parijs BN (X 15.210); Philadelphia Univ. of Pennsylvania; Stuttgart LB (alte Philol. 8^{o} 514); Tübingen UB (Ca 75 d); Wiesbaden LB (Weilb. 149); Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (P 1093 Helmst. 8^{o}).
   c) Zakelijk ingedeeld woordenboek met Latijnse trefwoorden en Griekse, Hebreeuwse (soms ook Chaldeeuwse), Franse, Italiaanse, Duitse (soms ook Alemanse), Nederlandse en Spaanse equivalenten.

387. *Nomenclaturae Compendium ex variis depromptum*, *atque certas in classes redactum ad iuventutis utilitatem.* Utrecht, Salomon Rodius, 1596. 8^{o}. A-C^{8}. 24 ff.
   b) Utrecht UB (H Litt. Lat. 8^{o} 822).
   c) Beknopt Latijns-Nederlands, zakelijk ingedeeld woordenboek.

388. *Novum Dictionarium omnium partium orationis*, *ex puris tantum et Latinis Verbis iisque potissimum simplicibus*, *aptissimo ordine concinatum. Recens correctum & auctum: in usum scholae Hagiensis*. 's-Gravenhage, Albertus Henricus, 1596. 8^{o}. A-G^{8}, H^{2}. 58 ff.
   b) Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (P 1094 Helmst. 8^{o}).
   c) Latijns-Nederlands schoolwoordenboek, ingedeeld volgens de Latijnse verbuigingen en vervoegingen. Volgens de titel is het een verbeterde en aangevulde uitgave van een ouder werk, dat we echter niet kennen. Het voorwoord op deze uitgave is van Augustinus Wilsius, Herendalij, 1580.

389. *Le dictionnaire des six langages: C'est à sçauoir Latin*, *Flamen*, *François*, *Espagnol*, *Italian*, *& Anglois: fort vtile & necessaire pour tous studieux & amateurs des lettres*, *reueu & corrigé de nouueau.* Rouen, Adam Malasis, 1600. 12^{o}. A-N^{8}, O^{6}. 110 ff. (laatste blad leeg).
   b) Brussel KB (VI 5244 A).
   c) Eeste uitgave (in vijf talen) in 1534 (nr. 97).

Addendum:

390. Gabriel Meurier, *Petite Fabrique Duisante A Chacun Tyron Diseteux du François ou Flamen.* Anvers, Pierre Keerberghen (imp. Aimé Tavernier), 1563, 8^{o}, A-L^{8}. 88 ff.

a) B. van Selm in *Dokumentaal* 5 (1976), p. 42-44.
b) Wolfenbüttel Herz. B. (Kb 347/1).
c) Frans-Nederlands zakelijk ingedeeld woordenboek.

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A ghost no more: a contribution to the bibliography of Joannes David S.J.

by Anna E.C. Simoni
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The bibliography of Joannes David of Courtrai is known to be difficult; so much so that his biographers, L. Geerts-van Roey and J. Andriessen[1], in a context admittedly different from this article, gave up the attempt[2]. It is especially difficult where there is conflicting evidence, such as with the claim for an earlier edition of his *Occasio arrepta*, *neglecta*, *huius commoda*: *illius incommoda*, of 1605 (fig. 1; henceforth *Occasio*). This publication receives detailed and one might think exhaustive treatment in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*[3], with careful collation and a valuable explanation of the symbolism of the titlepage. The engravings found in the book are also listed and their titles quoted and they are correctly ascribed to the engraver Theodorus Galle who has signed plate 1. In the list of Jean David's works following the descriptions of the separate editions in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*[4] the *Occasio* of 1605 gets the

1 L. Geerts-van Roey and J. Andriessen, *Pater Joannes David, S.J.*, 1546-1613, In *Ons geestelijk erf*, dl. 30, 1956, pp. 113-115. For a summary and further bibliographical material see the article by J. Andriessen in *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek*, dl. 1, 1964, coll. 377-383.

2 Geerts-van Roey and Andriessen, *op. cit.*, p. 148, note 159 'We verzaken aan deze bibliografische puzzle'.

3 *Bibliotheca Belgica*... Fondée par Ferdinand van der Haeghen, rééditée sous la direction de Marie-Thérèse Lenger, 1964 etc., tom. 2, p. 76, 77, no. D139.

4 *ibid.* p. 93.

somewhat laconic remark ‘Paquot, *mémoires* (sic), cite une édition de 1603, qui n'existe pas’, a statement which reduces such an edition to the status of ‘ghost’. What Paquot[5] says is ‘Occasio [etc.] Antv. Joan Moretus, 1603. 4°. It. Ibid. Idem, 1605. 4°. pp. 269. Occasio, Drama. A la suite du précédent. (2e édition, p. 270-307.)’. The *Bibliotheca Belgica* is right, such an edition of 1603, bearing this title and imprint and just lacking the *Drama* part, cannot be found and does not exist. Yet Paquot is not wholly wrong, he simply misunderstood the evidence, in which he was not alone. The earlier edition is elusive, but not a ghost.

In the preface to the 1605 edition of the *Occasio* David himself refers explicitly to an earlier edition published for the use of children and repeats this information in the address to the reader of the second part of that edition entitled *Occasio. Drama*[6] where he is even more precise, saying that this earlier edition occurred two years previously. Moreover, in both prefaces he makes it quite clear that the earlier version consisted of the plates only and bore the title *Typus occasionis* (fig. 2; henceforth *Typus*)[7].

Obviously the *Bibliotheca Belgica* failed to take sufficient account of these statements and Paquot either misunderstood David or just copied a false or ambiguous statement from whichever source he used. But even had Paquot given the proper title for the 1603 edition and had the *Bibliotheca Belgica* accepted his quotation, we might not have got much further. For although David gives us the title and the date of the earlier edition and although some bibliographers and art historians have mentioned it, more or less correctly[8], not one has so far revealed the crucial fact which is at the heart

5 J.N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas*, 1765-70, tom. 2, p. 107.

6 For a description of the *Drama* with its separate titlepage but integral part of the *Occasio* see *Bibliotheca Belgica* D139.

7 ‘Nos TYPUM OCCASIONIS aliquot nuper iconibus in studiosae juventutis gratiam exprimendam curaveramus’ on p. sig.++ 2 verso; ‘occasione TYPI OCCASIONIS ante biennium in lucem editi’ on p. 273. Capital letters as printed there.

8 The first edition of P. de Ribadeneira's *Illustrium scriptorum Societatis Jesu catalogus* of 1608, p. 114 s.v. Joannes David is very short on works which one could assume the author or his editor A. Schottus to have been able to see hot from the press. The entry runs ‘Ioannes David... iconibus scripta sua pleraque cum admiratione spectantium illustrat’. It then mentions ‘Occasionis typus’ without any further details as one of the few works listed. The latest edition of Ribadeneira's catalogue of Jesuit authors is the *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu* edited by P. Alegambe, 1676, which on p. 436 offers a little more: ‘*Occasionis typum* sic inscriptum, *Occasio arrepta...* ibidem (i.e. Antwerp) 1603 & 1605. *Dramate heroico*, *paris augmenti* (sic) cui titulus *Occasio.* in 4°’. V. Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, first published only ten years after David's death, in 1623, and its later enlarged edition of 1643 do not mention the *Typus* at all. J.F. Foppens in his *Bibliotheca Belgica* of 1739 merely copies the otherwise good list found in Andreas. C. Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, vol. 2, 1854, p. 265 s.v. Theodor Galle, no. 161-173, describes ‘Typus occasionis... Antverpiae, 1600. In-8. Suite de 13 p. Rare.’ He does not mention the *Occasio.* J.G.T. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, 1859, s.v. Jan David, lists the ‘*Occasio*, Antv., Joa. Moretus, 1605, in 4°, av. 12 planches par Galle’ and goes on to say that this is the second edition with the *Drama* while the first edition of 269 pages had been published in 1603, preceded that same year by an edition of the plates only under the title *Typus occasionis.* J.B. van den Bemden, *De familie Galle*, in *De Vlaemsche school*, jaarg. 6, 1860, p. 36, s.v. Theodoor Galle, writes that he engraved a suite of thirteen plates entitled *Typus occasionis*, Antv.,

of all the trouble, namely, that the *Typus* edition is anonymous. When we look at the plates in the *Occasio* we find that they consist of an allegorical picture which occupies the upper portion of the engraving whose title is written above it in capital letters followed by the plate number, and with a separately framed lower portion which contains ten lines of Latin verse written in italics. Letters of the alphabet in roman capitals are used to label the figures in the picture and the lines below are in turn assigned to these characters

1600, in 8^{o}. He does not list the *Occasio.* J.-Ch. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, 1861, tom. 2, col. 536, s.v. Joan David, is much better: *Typus occasionis...* Antuerpiae, delineabat et incidebat Theod. Gallus, 1603, pet. in-4^{o}. 12 pl., le frontispice, et un avis gravé'. At the end of his entry for David he writes 'Ces différents ouvrages de J. David sont recherchés à cause des gravures de Th. Galle dont ils sont ornés'. M. Funck, *Le livre belge à gravures*, 1925, p. 302, writes 'David, Jean. Occasio arrepta... Antverpiae... 1605... Les planches avaient paru en 1603 sans texte, sous le titre de "Typus..." 12 pl., 1 front, et un avis gravé', with reference to Brunet and to the original edition of the *Bibliotheca Belgica.* M. Praz, *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery*, 2nd edition, 1964, p. 313, informs the reader that the *Occasio* of 1605 contains twelve plates by Th. Galle which had already appeared in *Typus* in 1603. J. Landwehr, *Emblem-books of the Low Countries* 1554-1949, 1970, no. 133, describes the *Occasio* with reference to Praz, but not the *Typus.* The *Drama* alone is analysed by L. van den Boogerd, *Het Jezuietendrama in de Nederlanden*, 1961, pp. 131-136, without mention of the *Typus*, although he relates the 'tableaux'-like scenes of the play to the plates in the *Occasio.* (Other authors on David are referred to elsewhere in this article or in the notes.)

and explain them (fig. 3)[9]. Of the twelve pictorial plates plus engraved titlepage only plate 1 bears the engraver's signature as shown in fig. 3; nowhere on any of the twelve plates containing the Latin verses is their author named. The titlepage of the *Occasio* mentions him (fig. 1), not so the titlepage of the *Typus* (fig. 2). Wherever in the works of reference the *Typus* is described it either follows a description of the *Occasio* and a repetition of the author's name would then seem unnecessary, or it is assigned to Theodore Galle only as for example by Hollstein[10] who not only disregards the text and its authorship but has apparently no knowledge of the use of the plates after a new titlepage in the *Occasio*. Hollstein complicates matters by dating the *Typus* both 1600 and 1603. The earlier of these dates was already supplied, and as the only one, by Wurzbach[11] and is a mystery without the slightest basis of fact or tradition. David's preface to the *Occasio. Drama* in part two of the *Occasio* is quite definite: 'occasione TYPI OCCASIONIS ante biennium in lucem editi' can only refer to a first edition of 1603.

The other cause for confusion has been the belief that the earlier edition should also turn out to be a publication of Jan Moretus at the Officina Plantiniana, as implied by Paquot. This error may go back to Sweertius[12] whose short reference to the *Typus* follows on a

9 'Drama illud in promtu erat, quod olim ad tenerę ętatis exercitium, simplici Camoena luseram' (*Occasio* p. 273). The plainly didactic method of identifying pictorial characters with the help of letters on the plates and in the text is used also in other works of David. The full text commentaries in the *Occasio* again explain the allegories using the same letters to point out the figures in the pictures.

10 F.W. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings*, *engravings and woodcuts ca.* 1450-1700, 1949 etc., vol. 7, p. 85. He describes the *Typus* as consisting of thirteen plates which allows for either the titlepage or the engraved preface preceding the plates, but not for both; he gives the imprint as Antv. and the date as 1600 & 1603 and the format as 8^{o}, statements we have seen before!

11 A. v. Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 1906, s.v. Theodor Galle. He follows Le Blanc and Van den Bemden in his choice of date and format and likewise does not mention the *Occasio*. It may here be added that U. Thieme and F. Becker in their *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, 1907 etc., present a combined article on all the members of the Antwerp family of Galle, with not a word on either the *Typus* or the *Occasio*, but with reference to Wurzbach. It is sad to realize so often that errors are in this way perpetuated in even such highly respected works of reference.

12 F. Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae*, 1628, pp. 416, 417. He describes David as his friend ('mihi familiaris') and should therefore have known his output, but unfortunately his account of it is sketchy.

description of David's earlier work *Veridicus Christianus* with its imprint 'Antuerpiae, apud Plantinum' and runs 'Occasionis typus. Ibidem'. This is of course only a statement of place, i.e. the same as before, that is, Antwerp. But it is all too easy for any reader of Sweertius to extend the 'sameness' to the publisher. Theodore Galle was the son-in-law of Jan Moretus and closely connected as an engraver with the publishing house of Plantin. He also provided the plates for other works of David published there, thus the temptation is strong to expect an earlier edition of the *Occasio* to bear that famous imprint. But it does not, and that too was not unusual in the publishing history of David's works.

The famous plates for the *Veridicus Christianus*, for example, were originally made to embellish the Latin translation of David's *Christeliicken Waerseggher*, for we know from David's preface to the Latin version that Moretus would not comply with the author's demand for a hundred copper plates to go into the Dutch text unless there was to be a Latin one also. David therefore wrote the *Veridicus Christianus* in the short space of three months, a translation with additions and corrections to the original, and this was the first of the two versions to appear in 1601. The plates in this work which had caused David so much work have no signature, but their style is closely related to that of the plates for the *Typus* and *Occasio.* There was also a separate publication of the plates only, *Icones ad Veridicum Christianum*, also 1601, with the imprint of Philippus Galle, Theodore's father[13]. In it and in the parallel Dutch version entitled *Christeliicken Waerseggher* like the later full text, of 1602, with the imprint of Jan Moretus[14], the same plates

13 There is no copy of this or the corresponding Dutch edition of plates only in the British Library. The information here supplied is taken from *Bibliotheca Belgica*, tom. 2, p. 74, no. D135. Unlike the *Typus*, these editions of plates show David's name on their titlepage.

14 *Bibliotheca Belgica*, no. D135^{bis} note. The signature quoted there, with the spelling 'Antuerpiae', is the same as on the corresponding plate in the British Library's copy of the full Dutch text for which *Bibliotheca Belgica* no. D134 quotes a signature reading 'Antverpiae' with a v. A later Dutch version described in *Bibliotheca Belgica* no. D136 has a similar signature on this plate in which however the word 'excudit' has been changed to 'sculp:'.

are used as in the full Latin edition of 1601, except that the first plate is signed ‘Joan Galle excudit Antuerpiae’. This signature occurs also in the 1603 edition of the full Dutch text. The only Joannes Galle known to art history, including the dictionary of Hollstein, is Theodore's son, born in 1600. So here we have another puzzle which is made no easier by the omission of the signature from the same plate in the second edition of the Latin version published in 1606. The plates are frequently assigned to Jean Galle nevertheless[15], but some authors, from Brunet to Praz and Landwehr[16], assign them to Theodore without bothering to state their

15 As in the different editions described in the *Bibliotheca Belgica* mentioned above which notes the variants, but does not question the statement itself.

16 M. Praz, *op. cit*, p. 313: ‘copper plates by Th. Galle’, repeated in the description of the *Christeliicken Waerseggher* of 1603 with an additional reference to the *Schild-wacht* of 1602 which is normally found with it, as having one more plate by Th. Galle. It is not clear which plate is here intended, the Latin as well as the Dutch edition of this work contain two unnumbered plates. One shows Christ carrying the Cross surrounded by painters at their easels. This, like pl. 26 in the main sequence, has been tentatively attributed by L.J. Alvin, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre des trois frères Wierix*, 1866, no. 1205 and 1815, to one of the Wierix brothers. The other plate with the movable disc within a flower border which is here part of the plate itself is described as a curiosity by several writers, esp. the *Bibliotheca Belgica* no. D132. These plates are not part of the *Schild-wacht* so much as of the whole book and neither is its frontispiece. The plate of Christ and the painters is the titlepage of a chapter in the main work called *Orbita probitatis* in the Latin version, *Rolle der deugdsaemheydt* in the Dutch. Very beautiful borders of flowers or fruit and vegetables or various geometrical designs engraved separately surround the plates only in the Latin edition of 1601 in the form of passe-partouts, found in the copy at the British Library and described by Funck, although not remarked upon elsewhere. In the British Library copies of these books the plates with the mobile disc also differ, probably due to wear and repair. In the copy of the Latin edition it has two small circular pieces, one with the letters MAR surmounted by a crown and with the image of a heart pierced by a sword below, corresponding therefore to the ‘monogramme de Marie’ described by the *Bibliotheca Belgica.* The other small circle bears the usual emblem of the Society of Jesus and has been pasted in the centre of the concentric circles on the recto of the plate. In the Dutch edition the circular piece with the monogram of the Virgin Mary occupies this central position on the recto, but is only attached by the same thread which holds the big disc on the verso which can be moved to show numbers in the little windows on the recto. The copy of the Latin edition of 1606 in the British Library lacks this plate altogether. Landwehr, *op. cit*, no. 130-132, ignores the unnumbered plate of Christ and the painters in the 1601 Latin edition and refers to it as a frontispiece for the *Schild-wacht* (which he transcribes ‘Schildt-wacht’) in the Dutch edition of 1603,02. Landwehr follows Praz in assigning all the plates in this book to Theodore Galle without mentioning the problem of Jean's signature. Praz knows the copy in the British Library, formerly British Museum; Landwehr gives no locations, although he quotes Brunet's remark on the presence of part music in the copy of the Latin edition at the Royal Library in Brussels which Praz does not mention but which is also found in the copy at the British Library. The Dutch edition of 1603, 02 and the Latin edition of 1606 are not recorded as having the music and do not have it in the British Library copies.

reason for doing so and do not even mention the signature naming Jean. This is a problem which I gladly leave to art historians to solve.

Let us return to the *Occasio* and its predecessor, the *Typus.* It is inaccurate in this instance to speak of a separate publication of the plates of the *Occasio.* Instead, as David has told us himself, his first idea had been to publish plates only, of pictures and text, exhorting the young to grasp every opportunity for virtue and not to squander the moment in vice. In the above mentioned biography of David references can be found to his activities as teacher and catechist and he is there considered responsible as rector of the Jesuit college in Ghent for a school play performed there in connection with the solemn entry into that city of the archduke Ferdinand and his wife Isabella in January 1600[17]. The small edition of the *Typus* for children, with its speaking parts to explain the allegories of the pictures, would fit in well with this side of his life. According to the prefaces in the *Occasio* the author was later persuaded to enlarge the *Typus* with commentaries on each picture to make the work suitable for adults and to make a real play or pageant for actual performance based on the allegories of the plates[18], with different dialogue instead of the short and rather static verses supplied on the plates, thus composing the *Occasio.*

17 *op. cit.* p. 142.

18 'Quia tamen, quod in TYPO hoc solis juvenibus applicuimus, cuivis hominum generi convenire quoque cognoscitur... ideò in istá OCCASIONIS explicatione, singula imaginum schemata ita visum fuit interpretari, ut unicuique mortalium usui esse possit. Sic etenim fiet, ut quod quisque umbraticè sub juvenum figura expressum animadvertebat, hoc in ipso decursu orationis clarè distinctéque sit lecturus' (*Occasio* sig. + + 2 verso, + + 3 recto); 'Versiculos ipsis iconum lamellis incisos excerpseram: visum fuit quibusdam (quorum dignitati & auctoritati plura debeo) facturū me studiosę juventuti rem non ingratam, si Drama ipsum, quod toti de OCCASIONE tractatui principium dedit, eiusdem ad calcem adnecterē' (*Occasio. Drama* p. 273).

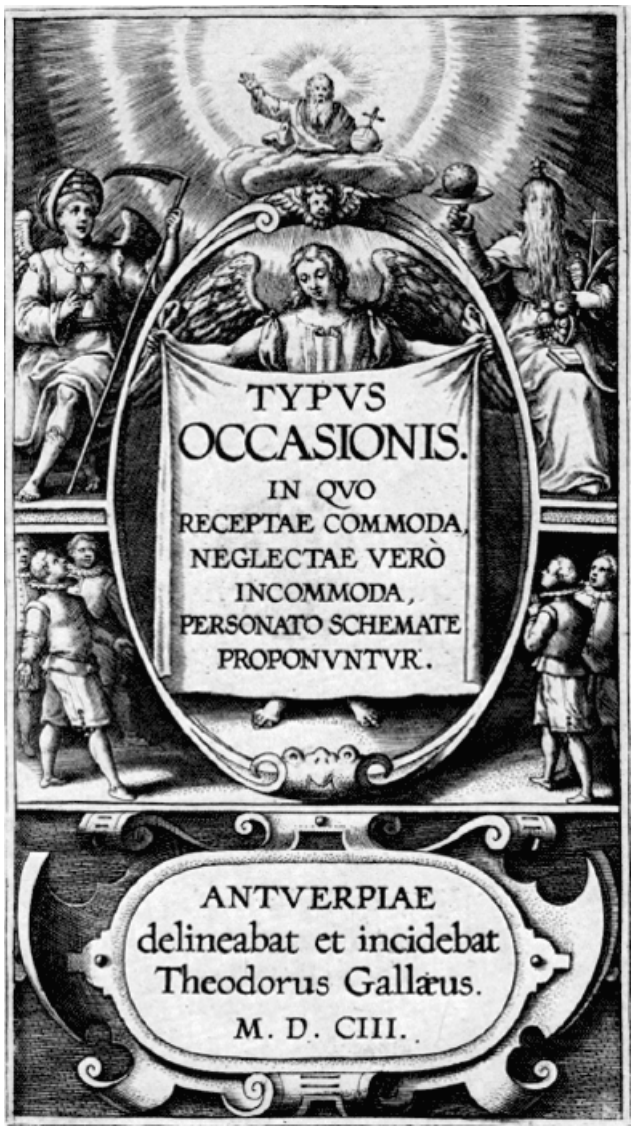
TYPVS
OCCASIONIS.
IN QVO
RECEPTAE COMMODA,
NEGLECTAE VERÒ
INCOMMODA,
PERSONATO SCHEMATE
PROPONVNTVR.
ANTVERPIAE
delineabat et incidebat
Theodorus Gallæus.
M. D. CIII.

FIG. 2

OCCASIO
ARREPTA. NEGLECTA.
HVIVS COMMODA:
ILLIVS INCOMMODA.
Auctore
R.P. IOANNE DAVID,
Societatis Iesv Sacerdote.
ANTVERPLÆ,
Ex officina Plantiniana,
apud Ioannem Moretum.
M. DC. V.

FIG. 1

TEMPVS ET OCCASIO SVA EXPLICANT MVNIA. 1.
A
B
A. TEMPVS ego, ſine quo nihil eſt quodcunq; creatum eſt.
Me ſine nec cœlum, neq; cœlo ſidera, nec ſol
Aureus irradiet: ſine me, nec terra, nec æquor,
Et quidquid vaſta Mundi compage tenetur,
Exiſtant: Sed enim, per me, velut omnia conſtant;
Omnia ſic rurſum, per me, revoluta labascent.
B. Illa ego, quæ priſcis OCCASIO cognita Seclis.
Me quicunque catus non faſtidiuit, amico
Sed vultu acceptam tenuit, mandata capeſſens;
Ille ſibi, compos voti, decora ampla parauit.

FIG. 3

Drama. This later edition which in itself contained also the earlier *Typus* - except for the titlepage and Galle's engraved introductory page recommending it to its young readers - no doubt gained a larger circulation and also survived better than the children's picture book. It would be interesting to know how many of the writers quoting the *Typus* had actually seen a copy of it[19]. Just as Hollstein lists the *Typus* under Theodore Galle as if no one else had inspired it and contributed to it, so the British Museum's *General Catalogue of Printed Books* (now of course the catalogue of the books in the British Library) has an entry for it under Galle's name only and no reference for it under the name of Jan David, Jesuit. It is not mentioned at all in De Backer-Sommervogel, BNCI or Olthoff[20]. Le Blanc called it rare; but certainly, pace *Bibliotheca Belgica*, it exists[21].

19 David's biography and the article by Andriessen of 1964 quoted above in note 1 ignore the existence of the *Typus* which they do not mention either directly or indirectly through Paquot's description of an earlier edition of the *Occasio.*

20 A. & A. de Backer and C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 2, 1891, p. 1847 do not list the *Typus* among David's works. There was no reason why an anonymous edition, not identified as David's, should be included in the Jesuit bibliography since there was no other Jesuit connection to be seen in it. The *Bibliotheca Catholica Neerlandica Impressa* 1500-1727, 1954, has no entry for it whether anonymously or under David. F. Olthoff, *De boekdrukkers*, *boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen*, 1891, treats Theodore Galle as publisher of two works, the *Typus* is not one of them.

21 For another Jean David ‘ghost’ which was laid not long ago see L. Loosen, *De katechismus-berijming van Jean David*, in *Ons geestelijk erf*, dl. 38, 1964, afl. 1, pp. 103, 104. This relates the identification of an anonymous tract, *Wijsheyt der simpel Christenen*, published by Velpius at Brussels in 1593 and discovered in the Royal Library, Brussels, as the predecessor of the *Christeliicken Waerseggher* which had long been believed lost. This book is now properly listed under David in *Typographica Belgica* 1541-1600, vol. 1, 1968, p. 61, no. 813.

Een dankbrief, 19 jaren na dato?

door J. Smits
(Culemborg)

In de uitgave van de zo rijke verzameling brieven, waarmee J.H. Hessels het nageslacht verrijkte, bevindt zich een brief van Marcus Laurinus aan Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) te Antwerpen.[1] De brief eindigt met VALE. BRUGIS X^{o} FEBRUARIJ RAPTIM ET EXTEMPORE en Hessels plaatste hem in het jaar 1583.

Marcus Laurinus was een rijke en aanzienlijke inwoner van Brugge, die ijverig antieke munten en afbeeldingen verzamelde en op basis hiervan de Romeinse geschiedenis bestudeerde; volgens de aanhef van deze brief was hij een AMICUS SINGULARIS, een 'buitengewone vriend' van Ortelius.

Deze buitengewone vriendschap heeft ook gestalte gekregen, want Marcus Laurinus opent zijn brief met zijn hartelijke dank uit te spreken voor een geschenk: Abraham Ortelius had hem nl. een exemplaar van zijn wereldkaart geschonken: UNIVERSI ORBIS DESCRIPTIO.

Maar niet slechts voor deze gift heeft Marcus Laurinus reden tot dankbaarheid: zijn Antwerpse vriend had aan hem, Marcus Laurinus, deze kaart opgedragen en deze was nog wel de eerste eigenhandig gemaakte kaart die Ortelius de wereld in zond! Deze dateert nl. van 1564; dat wil dus zeggen dat Marcus Laurinus een

1 *Abrahami Ortelii et virorum eruditorum epistolae*, ed. J.H. Hessels, Cambridge 1887, epist. 122.

bedankbrief zou hebben geschreven 19 jaar na deze eervolle opdracht. Nu moet direct gezegd, dat Hessels volkomen te verontschuldigen is: zijn editie is van 1887 en hij kende het bestaan van deze kaart niet.[2] Bovendien meende Hessels houvast te hebben aan een kaart van Egypte, door Ortelius, uit het jaar 1584. Hij schrijft immers:

'The date of this letter is probably 1583 as the "simulachra Nili et ipsius Provinciae Aegypti" appear in Ortelius' Theatrum of 1584'.[3] Hessels las dus in deze brief dat Ortelius van plan was een versierde kaart van Egypte uit te geven; hij kende die van 1584[4] en zag nu enige overeenkomst tussen de inhoud van deze brief en de afbeeldingen op die kaart. Daarom dateerde hij de brief dan ook één jaar vóór de uitgave van de kaart, waarschijnlijk in de mening verkerend dat Ortelius in deze fase van voorbereiding niet meer tijd nodig had gehad om tot publicatie te komen. Met dezelfde redenering als die van Hessels is het reeds mogelijk de brief vóór 1583 te dateren: naast Ortelius' wereldkaart bestaat er immers ook diens kaart van Egypte van 1565. Hessels vermoedde wel het bestaan ervan, maar hield daarmee bij zijn datering van Marcus Laurinus' brief onvoldoende rekening.[5] Te meer is dat het geval door wat Marcus Laurinus verder schrijft. Hij is graag tot een wederdienst bereid. Het verheugt hem van hun beider vriend Hubert Goltzius (HUBERTO NOSTRO) te vernemen, dat Ortelius het plan heeft opgevat ook een kaart van Egypte uit te

2 *Ibid.*, p. 904 b. Deze kaart is pas veel later algemeen bekend geworden, zie bv.: C. Chr. Bernouilli, 'Ein Karteninkunabelnband der öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel. Beilage zum Bericht über die Dr. J.M. Ziegler'sche Kartensammlung', *Verhandlungen der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Basel*, Bd. XVIII/H. 1 (1905), p. 62; W. Ruge, 'Aelteres Kartographisches Material in deutschen Bibliotheken', *Nachrichten v.d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1911, p. 107; L. Bagrow, 'Ortelii Catalogus Cartographorum', I, *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen*, *Ergänzungsheft* 199, Gotha, p. 12.

3 *Abrahami Ortelii epistolae*, p. 904 b.

4 Deze tweebladige kaart heeft tot titel *Aegyptus antiqua*, is gesigneerd met *ex conatibus geographicis ab. ortelii* en draagt als datum 1584. Hij maakt deel uit van het *Parergon*, het nieuwe onderdeel van de vermeerderde herdruk van Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antw. 1584; eerste druk Antw. 1570), dat 14 historische kaarten omvat.

5 *Abrahami Ortelii epistolae*, pp. xxiv/v en 892 b. Deze kaart wordt vermeld door: C. Chr. Bernouilli, *op. cit.*, pp. 78/9; W. Ruge, *op. cit.*, p. 117; L. Bagrow, *op. cit.*

geven en hij steunt hem in de mening dat het de kaart ten goede zou komen, wanneer versieringen ontleend aan de outheden der Egyptenaren of aan munten passend zouden worden ingevoegd, zoals bv. afbeeldingen van de Nijl en de provincie Egypte zelf van monumenten uit de oudheid. We zullen zien dat hij Ortelius adviseert nog meer versieringen op te nemen.

Hubert Goltzius was een bekwaam numismaat en geschiedkundige, en woonde sinds 1558 in Brugge, waar hij in min of meer vaste dienst stond van Marcus Laurinus, die hem dwars door Europa stuurde om (afbeeldingen van) oude munten en andere oudheden op te sporen en te verzamelen. Dit leidde in de loop der jaren tot enige publicaties. Goltzius kan inderdaad tot één van Ortelius' vrienden gerekend worden. Aan hem droeg Ortelius zijn kaart van Azië (1567) op. Welnu, Goltzius overleed op 24 maart 1583[6] en hoewel dit gegeven op zichzelf niet doorslaggevend is, komt Hessels' datering daarmee wel aan de rand van de mogelijkheden.

Maar er is meer en wel dank zij een vergelijking van de versieringen die Ortelius op de kaarten van 1565 en 1584 aanbracht. Allereerst valt dan op, dat de enig uitzonderlijke versiering op de kaart van 1584, de afbeelding in de zuidwest hoek, ten opzichte van die van 1565 vrij sober is. Des te opvallender, omdat Marcus Laurinus aan het slot van zijn brief Ortelius een hele rij suggesties aan de hand doet van ter versiering op te nemen afbeeldingen, nl. van de Hippopotamus, de Ibis, de Cynocephalus, de Apisstier, de Canopus, de Sphinx, de Krokodil, de Papyrus en van nog andere eigenaardigheden van dit land. Deze zaken komen op de kaart van 1584 weinig aan bod. Waarom zou Ortelius het advies van de hem gunstig gezinde en ter zake kundige Marcus Laurinus naast zich neer hebben gelegd, te meer omdat een nog fraaiere kaart de verkoop slechts ten goede zou zijn gekomen?

Wanneer we nu de versieringen op de kaart van 1565 bekijken, zien we naast een overvloed van kleine ornamenten op de afbeelding in de zuidwest hoek: hiërogliefen, twee Sphinxen, de Apisstier,

6 H. de la Fontaine Verwey, ‘The first private press in the Low Countries. Marcus Laurinus and the *officina golziana*’, *quaerendo*, II/4 (1972), p. 308.

Abr. Ortelius, kaart van Egypte, ca. 1565 (detail).
Fotodienst R.U. Groningen.

de Canopus, de Cynocephalus en een allegorische voorstelling van de Nijl. Ortelius heeft kennelijk en zichtbaar (zie illustratie) Marcus Laurinus' aanwijzingen gevolgd.

De datering van deze brief door Hessels is dan ook niet juist en kwam voort uit het feit dat hij de kaart van 1565 niet kende. De brief wordt veel begrijpelijker, wanneer we hem betrekken op Ortelius' aan Scipio Fabius opgedragen kaart van 1565: Marcus Laurinus bedankte Ortelius kort na de verschijning van de hem opgedragen wereldkaart (1564) en niet 19 jaar nadien; Goltzius was toen nog volop actief en niet slechts zes weken van zijn overlijden verwijderd; gelet op de versiering kan de brief beter in verband gebracht worden met de kaart van 1565 dan met die van 1584; en Marcus Laurinus kan deze brief niet in 1583 hebben geschreven, want hij was reeds kort vóór 13 november 1581 te Calais overleden.[7]

Ortelius' wereldkaart werd in 1564 uitgegeven, terwijl volgens deze brief diens kaart van Egypte nog moest verschijnen. Hij moet dus in de tussenliggende maanden zijn geschreven; daarmee hebben we twee mogelijkheden: 10 febr. 1564 of 10 febr. 1565. De tweede datum verdient de voorkeur, want deze leidt tot een tweetal gevolgtrekkingen: 1. Ortelius heeft enige tijd na de publicatie Marcus Laurinus een exemplaar van zijn wereldkaart doen toekomen en werkte toen reeds aan zijn nieuwe kaart van Egypte; 2. deze brief is organisch en meer vanzelfsprekend verbonden met de inhoud van de brief van Scipio Fabius aan Ortelius. Immers in deze brief van 14 april 1565 is er eveneens sprake van, dat Ortelius een kaart van Egypte voorbereidt.[8]

Het rechtzetten van de datum van deze brief heeft om tweeërlei

7 *Ibid.* Hessels volgend is het vreemd dat niet wordt gezinspeeld op de aanstaande herdruk van het *Theatrum*, die het volgende jaar nl. bij Plantijn van de pers kwam en waarvan dus ook deze kaart van het oude Egypte deel uitmaakte. Maar het *Theatrum* kon niet worden vermeld, want daarvan was in deze tijd nog geen sprake.

8 *Abrahami Ortelii epistolae*, epist. 15: ‘Quod vero egipti regionem describendam susceperis ac sub meo nomine in publicum propalare vellis, et hoc uno nomen meum tuis laboribus immortalitati tradere, facis pro tua humanitate, id quod cuiqui egregio viro debet esse sume gratum;...’

reden zin: te velen reeds namen Hessels' foutieve datering over[9] en wat belangrijker is: de brief vindt een juistere plaats in het geheel van de zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse ‘Egyptologie’, een onderwerp dat juist in onze tijd nadere bestudering vindt en juist in de Nederlanden een belangwekkende aanvang nam, o.a. bij Ortelius.

9 Bijvoorbeeld: H. de Vocht, *History of the foundation of the collegium trilingue Lovaniense* 1517-1550, Dl. IV, Louvain 1955, p. 190; J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, Dl. II, 's-Gravenhage/Antwerpen 1913, p. 77 noot (3).

Brief notes on some 16th century Antwerp printers with special reference to Jean Steelsius and his Hispanic bibliography

by Pedro R. León
(Scarborough College, University of Toronto)

The present study, begun as a result of my research into the work of one of the most important chroniclers of the Indies, Pedro de Cieza de León, is nothing more than a brief compendium of information available in various sources. I hope it will be of some use in understanding the great importance of Antwerp in the history of Hispanic letters[1].

Cieza de León published the first part of his *Crónica del Perú* in Seville in 1553 in the press of Martín de Montesdoca. The following year, the same work was published by three different printers: Jean Bellerus, Martin Nutius and Jean Steelsius, with a fourth printer, Jean de Laet also involved in these publications. Several questions are raised by this triple printing, some of which are of interest to the study of Cieza de León, and one which leads us into the subject of these notes. Was Cieza de León a literary figure important enough to merit three editions in the same year? did he have enough money to pay for these editions? was his work published due to royal influence? was this multiple printing a common practice? and finally, who were these Antwerp printers, and why are they specially important to Hispanic letters?

1 Research for these notes was carried out with the help of a Canada Council Leave Fellowship.

Cieza de León was not a very well known or important writer in his time. In fact, the historian M. Jiménez de la Espada has often complained about the neglect to which he has been subjected up to very recent times[2]. On his return to Spain from America in 1550-51, and after spending seventeen years as a conquistador, he landed in a virtually new and unknown country. Cieza tells us that he came back penniless and that he had to borrow three 'escudos' from a Diego Mexía on his homeward voyage[3]. This poverty was, however, of short duration because soon after his arrival he married the daughter of a well-to-do merchant and received 3500 ducats as a dowry[4]. Cieza's testamentary dispositions indicate that he was reasonably well off and therefore able to pay for his own printing. He presumably decided that three different editions from well known Flemish printers would definitely help his literary aspirations[5]. However, we have no information concerning his Antwerp connections, save one brief reference to 'lo que viniere de Flandes' (what might come from Flanders)[6].

Cieza de León published his *Crónica del Perú* in 1553 and 1554 with 'privilegio real'. This meant in some cases the exemption of taxes, and in general the protection of a work for a specific period of time[7]. All the Antwerp editions were published with royal privilege. It is perhaps logical to assume that this royal patronage prompted the triple printing. Jiménez de la Espada has affirmed that Cieza de León presented the manuscript of his work to Philip II

2 Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, Prologue to *Segunda Parte de la Crónica del Perú* de Cieza de León. (Madrid: Hernández, 1880), X.

3 Miguel Maticorena Estrada, 'Cieza de León en Sevilla y su muerte en 1554,' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, XII (1957), 667.

4 The dowry that Cieza received was a very generous one. At that time a pilot in the navy of the Indies received from four to ten ducats per month, and a ship of about 200 tons in weight, completely equipped and armed according to the regulations of the time was valued at six hundred ducats in 1550. From Ramón Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros* (Madrid, Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1965), 402-3.

5 Pedro Bohigas, in his *El libro español* (Barcelona, Gili, 1962), tells us that the decadence of gothic typography in Spain is already evident in the works printed by Montesdoca, Cieza's first printer. Our chronicler probably knew of the superiority of Flemish printers in the mid 1500's.

6 Maticorena Estrada, 'Cieza de León,' p. 671.

7 Bohigas, *El libro*, p. 149.

in Toledo in 1552[8]. Regardless of how impressed the king might have been with our chronicler's work, it is still quite remarkable that three printers of the reputation of Steelsius, Nutius and Bellerus should have brought out the same work and in the same year. Even the popular *Libro áureo* of Antonio de Guevara, for the publication of which Martin Nutius had requested special privilege from the king, did not appear in multiple printings in the same year and in the same place![9]

The mystery about this unlikely 'best seller' is compounded by the fact that no reference is made to it in any of the lists of shipments of books drawn up by Bellerus and Steelsius, and extant in the Plantin Moretus Museum. (Please see note 12.)

But who were these Antwerp printers connected with the publication of Cieza's work? Let us now consider them briefly.

Printing in Antwerp is chiefly associated with the great Christopher Plantin[10]. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Antwerp had become the centre of printing in the Low Countries after Bruges and Louvain[11]. From this time until the sack of Antwerp in 1576 by the Spanish soldiers garrisoned there, Antwerp printers issued a very large quantity of important works in Spanish,

8 Jiménez de la Espada believes that Cieza must have presented his *Primera Parte* to the King in Toledo around 1552. In *Prologue*, p. 105, note a.

9 The *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* was published twenty three times from 1528 to 1555. Even though it was printed four times in 1529 and 1532, these printings were done in four different cities: 1529, Saragoza, Antwerp, Paris and Valladolid; 1532, Barcelona, Sevilla, Salamanca and Venece. From R. Foulché-Delbosc, 'Bibliographie espagnole de Fray Antonio de Guevara.' *Revue Hispanique*, XXXIII, 1915, 301-384.

10 Douglas McMurtrie, in *The Book*, *the Story of Printing and Book* (London, Oxford University Press, 1967), does not mention any of Plantin's famous contemporaries such as Martin Nutius and Jean Bellerus. - J.F. Peeters Fontainas, in his article about Nutius, refers to the neglect to which Plantin's contemporaries have been subjected: 'L'Auréole dont l'histoire a entouré à juste titre le nom de Christophe Plantin, a relégué dans l'ombre quelques imprimeurs anversois, ses contemporains, que méritent de sortir de l'oubli.' In 'L'Officine Espagnole de Martin Nutius,' *De Gulden Passer*, XXXV, 1957, 11 - J.B. Vincent, 'Essai sur l'histoire de l'imprimerie en Belgique depuis le XVe jusqu'à la fin du XV^{999}e siècle,' *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, XV, 1859, 153-175, mentions M. Nutius, J. Steelsius, J. Bellerus and J. de Laet.

11 See A.J.J. Delen, *Christophe Plantin*, *Imprimeur de l'Humanisme* (Bruxelles, 1944).

and of matters of Hispanic interest in Latin and other languages. Plantin, who in 1570 had become the Royal Printer to Philip II of Spain, published under his patronage the famous Polyglot Bible which took more than five years to print and more than seven to be allowed to circulate. Although the bulk of printing for the Spanish Crown was liturgical books used in all the territories controlled by Spain, the Antwerp printers published numerous non-religious works including some of the masterpieces of Spanish literature[12]. But in addition to Plantin there were Bellerus, Laet, Nutius and Steelsius, lesser known but equally important. Jean Beelaert, or Bellere, Bellerus (Bellero in Spanish), was born in Liège in 1516[13]. In 1553 he acquired the rights of burger of Antwerp and began to print in 1554. He was admitted as a 'franc-maitre' (Goovaerts), or Librarian (van Havre), of the Guild of St. Luke in 1559. In 1554 he lived in the Cammerstraat under the sign 'Au saumon' (Salmon). Later in the same year he moved to a house in the same street under the sign 'Au faucon' (Falcon), and in 1564 he established himself under the sign 'A l'Aigle d'or' (Golden Eagle). In 1555 Bellerus helped Plantin to publish the first known volume of that great printer. The volume was *L'institution d'une fille de noble*

12 The following documents from the Plantin Moretus Museum contain information about the trade between the Antwerp printers and Spain: *Fr. No.* 23 (Comptes avec des librairies espagnols par l'entremise de B. Arias Montano). *Fr. No.* 272 (Succursale de Seville, 1616. - *Esp. No.* 485 (Envois de livres en Espagne 1593-1597). - 1593-1597). - *Esp. No.* 500 (Envois de livres aux Hieronymites, 1696-1746). - *Esp. No.* 523 (Commerce de livres avec l'Espagne, 1606-1767). - *Latin. No.* 206 (Index Librorum, 1500-1600). - The following documents have specific information about Spanish literary works:
Latin No. 206, includes references to Pero Mexía's *Historia Imperial*, Boscán's *Obras*, and Montemayor's *Diana.* - *Fr. No.* 34 (Libre de vente, 1556-1559), information about the sales of *El Lazarillo de Tormes.* - *Fr. No.* 38 (Librairies et autres, 1555-1562), references to 'Histoires des Indes', perhaps Cieza's work. *Esp. No.* 364 (Comptes d'Espagne, 1644-1665). - *Esp. No.* 500 (Envois de livres aux Hieronymites, 1696-1746). - *Esp. No.* 532 (Commerce de livres avec l'Espagne, 1606-1767). - In addition, the following were studied: *Div. Lang. No.* 698 (Imprimerie, 1558-1640). - *Div. Lang. No.* 703 (Affairs d'argent, 1542-1795). - *Div. Lang. No.* 716 (Lettres de change, 16e-17e siècle. - *Div. Lang. No.* 722 Varia librairie et imprimerie, 1560-1669). - *Div. Lang. No.* 735 (Varia, 1524-1863).

13 E. Roobaert-A. Moerman, 'Libraires et Imprimeurs à Anvers du xv^{9}e Siècle. Notes et documents. I. Jean de Laet, Imprimeur de la Ville d'Anvers 1549-1566,' *De Gulden Passer* XXXIX, 1961, no. 1, p. 189.

maison, a translation from the Tuscan. According to Goovaerts, Bellerus was at that time the premier printer of Antwerp. His work is outstanding for the beauty and precision of the typographical characters and for the quality of the paper.

With Pierre Phalese, another important printer of the time, Bellerus printed a number of musical scores by composers such as Palestrina, Laso, Mons and others[14]. Jean Bellerus and his descendants, including his wife Elisabeth Commers and his sons used five typographical marks showing variations of a design with a ship on the sea and Fortune and Mercury as passengers or pilots. Bellerus' *divisa* is 'Indies arte ac fortuna'[15]. A number of Spanish texts were published by the Bellerus family, including *Los siete libros de la Diana de George de Monte Mayor*, printed by Pierre Bellerus, Jean's brother, in 1575.

Jean de Laet (Lacio in Spanish) was born in Stabroek, a village near Antwerp, in 1525. He married Elisabeth Saen in 1544 and in the same year he became a burger of Antwerp. In 1553 he was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke under the name of Jan van Stabroek. From 1553 to 1562 he lived in the Cammerstraat under various signs: 'Au Saumon' (Salmon), 'Au Moulin' (Windmill), and 'Au Navet' (Turnip). In 1566 he moved to the 'rempart du Lombard' and established himself under the sign used in his typographical marks: 'Au Semeur' (Sower)[16]. Like many others in his trade, Laet's printing consisted in part of bills and notices for the city's government. According to E. Roobaerts-A. Moerman, the nature of Laet's work in the years of his employment by the city did not vary greatly. However, the artistic execution of seemingly every day work is what sets his printing apart from that of his contemporaries, and what evidently caused him to be named 'Stadsdrucker' or city printer of Antwerp, an honour which Plantin also received. In 1550 the city of Antwerp commissioned a lottery advertisement. Jean de Laet printed 13,000 copies

14 See A. Goovaerts, *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas* (Anvers, 1880).

15 One of the marks has the divisa in Greek characters.

16 G. van Havre, *Marques typographiques des imprimeurs et libraires anversois* (Anvers, 1883) 2 vols., p. 249-253.

of these advertisements in various languages. He was involved not only in the printing end of these advertisements but also in choosing the paper, securing the artist or artists to do the illustrations and hiring the translators[17]. It appears that Jean de Laet acquired a good reputation on account of his printing of these advertisements, and it was evidently well deserved. The illustrations, for which there were often prize winning competitions, were sometimes hand coloured after they had been printed. A favourite engraving was a panorama of the city of Antwerp.

Jean de Laet's printing of lottery advertisements is only a very small part of his total output. He was also a printer of musical scores[18], of classical texts, and of Spanish books in collaboration with Martin Nutius and Jean Steelsius. His interest in things Spanish included relations with a number of Spanish printers[19]. J.B. Vincent cites his printing of the Psalms in Flemish verse and of the first edition of the book of Dioscorides by Laguna[20]. Jean de Laet used five typographical marks. All these marks are variations of the design showing a sower throwing seed on the tilled ground. The *divisa Spas alit Agricolas* appears in every case.

Relatively, a good deal more has been written about Martin Nutius (Nucio in Spanish), also known by the names of Marten Nuyts Vermeeren, Martin Nuyts van Meer, Martín de Mera and Martinus Meranus. This great printer has been the object of studies by Joseph Nuyts in 1858, Max Rooses in 1901, and more recently, J.F. Peeters-Fontainas[21].

17 E. Roobaert-A. Moerman mention the painter Adrien Proovost who designed a view of Antwerp, which was later made into a woodcut by Sylvere van Parijs. Since the lottery advertisements were distributed in France, Italy, Germany and Spain, it is presumed that a number of translators were employed. Reference is made to Jean Ghovaerts and Bruynincx et van Hencxthoven, 'tous deux compétents en matière de loteries.' Art. cit. 191-2.

18 A. Goovaerts, *Histoire et bibliographie...*

19 E.J. Roobaerts-A. Moerman, *art. cit*, p. 200.

20 J.B. Vincent, 'Essai sur l'histoire...', p. 165.

21 J. Nuyts, *Essai sur l'imprimerie des Nutius.* 2e ed. (Bruxelles, 1858. M. Rooses *Biographie Nationale*, publiée par l'Academie Royale... de Belgique (Bruxelles, 1901) Tome XVI, p. 11 et suiv. (Quoted by J.F. Peeters-Fontainas, in 'L'officine espagnole...'); J.F. Peeters-Fontainas, 'L'officine espagnole de Martin Nutius à Anvers,' *De Gulden Passer*, XXXV, 1957, 1-104.

Martin Nutius was born in Meere, a village near Hoogstraeten, in 1515. He was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke in 1540 and became a burger of Antwerp in 1544. He began to print in 1540 under the sign 'A Saint Jacques, à coté de la Tuile d'Or, à la plaine du Poids de Fer'; (at the side of the Golden Tile, in the Square of the Iron Weights). In his Spanish printings he used an abbreviated address: 'En la plaça del Peso del Hierro[22].' He remained there until 1544, when, married and with a family, he moved to another address 'Sub intersigno vulpis'[23]. Towards the end of 1544 he moved to yet another address 'A la Lycorne d'Or' (The Golden Unicorn), where he remained until 1558. His Spanish printings have sometimes a more precise address: 'En el Unicornio, cerca donde estan los carros de Malines.' Peeters-Fontainas thinks that it is probable that Nutius kept for some time his ateliers at the Peso del Hierro while he lived at the sign of the Unicorn. An edition of *La Celestina* of 1545 has the old address, while an edition of *El Cortesano* dated 1544 was issued at the sign of the Unicorn[24]. In 1555, Martin moved to his fourth address: 'Aux deux cigognes' (The two storks), used in most of his typographical marks, and which, according to Peeters-Fontainas, remained associated with book printing and Spanish printing well into the 18th century[25].

Martin Nutius used eight marks, and his descendants three. One of these marks represents the Unicorn and the remaining ten are

22 The information about Nutius is taken from van Havre and Peeters-Fontainas. This last bibliophile gives us an idea of the quarter where the printers and booksellers congregated, and where Nutius had his establishment: 'A cette époque les libraires et imprimeurs étaient groupés aux alentours de la rue dite "Cammerstraat", rue des Brasseurs, appellation aujourd'hui erronément traduite par Rue des Peignes. Cette rue partait du coeur de la vieille ville, depuis la rue Reynders vers la porte de Malines.' *Art. cit.*, p. 15.

23 This address is cited by Peeters-Fontainas but not by van Havre.

24 J.F. Peeters-Fontainas, 'L'officine...' p. 16.

25 'L'immeuble dénommé 'les deux cigognes' restera longtemps voué au commerce du livre: Après Martin Nutius, sa Veuve et ses descendants y continueront leur activité jusq'en 1639, puis l'imprimeur moins connu Francois Le Chien, ou Canisius, y tient boutique de 1648 à 1653, pour faire place enfin aux presses de la famille Verdussen de 1686 à 1753. Ces derniers continueront la tradition des éditions espagnoles à Anvers, et reprendront les marques des deux cigognes, que nous retrouverons aux titres des *Don Quijote* de 1697 et 1719. 'J.F. Peeters-Fontainas, 'L'officine...', p. 16.

variations of a design showing two storks, the male feeding the female a fish or an eel. A mark of 1551 in the edition of Josepho's *De Bello Judaico* shows both the storks and two unicorns. In most marks there is the *divisa* 'Pietas homini tutissima virtus'.

Peeters-Fontainas has described more than one hundred titles in Martin Nutius' bibliography. Of these titles, the most important perhaps is the *Cancionero de Romances.* A. Rodríguez Moñino, in his edition of this work conjectures that Nutius, aware of the popularity of ballads and songs among the nomadic Spanish inhabitants of the Low Countries (government functionaries, merchants, soldiers, etc.), shrewdly decided to publish a small volume of *romances* which he must have acquired in 'pliegos sueltos' in one of his trips to Spain. This volume of about 550 pages is the cornerstone of the Spanish *Romancero*[26]. In addition, Nutius published *La Celestina*, *El Lazarillo de Tormes* the works of Juan de Mena, Boscán and Garcilaso, Antonio de Guevara and Cristóbal de Castillejo, López de Gómara, Zárate and Pedro de Cieza de León, to name but a few. It is difficult to imagine a more important name in the history of Spanish letters[27].

Little is known about Jean Steelsius or Joannes Steelsmanus, (Stelsio in Spanish), the fourth printer we shall consider. C.J. Nuyts, in the introduction to his bibliography of Steelsius laments

26 *Cancionero de romances* (Recopilación de M. Nucio, Anvers, 1550). Edición, estudio, bibliografía e índices por A. Rodríguez Moñino. (Madrid, Castalia, 1967) *Colección de romanceros de los siglos de oro*, 1)

27 J.F. Peeters-Fontainas connects the work of Nutius to that of at least one Spanish translator, Martín Cordero de Valencia, and underlines his contribution to the quality of the Spanish texts published by Nutius and other printers in Antwerp. The 'Memoirs' of Martín Cordero de Valencia are important and extremely interesting 'noticias' about his stay in Flanders. The quality of Flemish life and the extent of the Spanish presence in Antwerp and Louvain can be gathered from his perceptive and highly entertaining observations. J.F. Peeters-Fontainas, 'Extrait des Mémoires de Jean Martin Cordero de Valence, sa vie d'étudiant à Louvain, ses traductions espagnoles, ses éditions aux Pays-Bas,' *De Gulden Passer*, 1953, 59-87. About J.M. Cordero see also J.A. Pellicer, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de traductores españoles* (Madrid, 1778), 112-13. As a final footnote on Nutius we should add that in 1549 Charles V and Philip II travelled to Antwerp. Concerning this visit, Peeters-Fontainas says: 'Il est certain que notre libraire espagnole a reçu à cette occasion la visite de grands personages qui encouragèrent notre imprimeur à multiplier ses éditions espagnoles.' 'L'officine...', p. 17.

the lack of information available about him[28]. Vincent mentions him as 'libraire célèbre que eut l'honneur d'éditer un livre qui fut, diton, traduit du francais en espagnol par l'empereur Charles Quint...'[29] According to van Havre, Steelsius was born in Brusthem, a village in the province of Limbourg. There is no reference to the date of his birth. In 1535 he married Marguerite Hillen van Hoochstraeten. After her death in 1540, Steelsius married again. In 1559 he was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke as a librarian, and died in 1562.

In 1533 our printer lived in the Cammerstraat, 'A la maison de Delft' (At the House of Delft), and later, in 1537, he moved to another address in the same street, 'A l'Escu de Bourgoigne', (At the Shield of Burgundy).

Steelsius, his widow and descendants used seven typographical marks, all variations of a design showing two large birds on either side of a sceptre-like column. A globe with the signs of the zodiac which appears in most of the marks, and a flock of birds in flight are also part of the design. The *divisa* in every one of the marks is 'Concordia res parvae crescunt'.

Steelsius published a considerable number of books in Spanish, and in Latin and Flemish concerning Spain. This bibliography is very important even if it is not comparable in extent and quality with that of Martin Nutius. In this connection, it is worth speculating whether Nutius acquired his interest in things Spanish while he was Steelsius' assistant.

The books relating to Spain published by Steelsius can be grouped as follows: 1. Spanish translations of classical texts; 2. historical[30]

28 C.J. Nuyts, 'Histoire des Livres, Jean Steelsius, libraire anversois, (1533-1575),' *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, XIV-XV (1858-9).

29 J.B. Vincent, 'Essai sur l'histoire...', p. 163.

30 P. Verheyden in 'Uit het huis van Steelsius', *Tijdschrift voor boek & Bibliotheekwezen*, VIII, 1910, 126-29, describes six wooden tablets from Steelsius' house in Antwerp, which include carved reliefs showing printers in various stages of their craft, shields and emblems of Steelsius' family and inscriptions relative to Jean, his first and second wives, and his children by both marriages. P. Verheyden also gives us some hitherto unknown information about some of Steelsius' relatives, particularly that his wife's uncle was Peter Cornelis van Estborn, doctor of theology, Provincial or Predikheeren in the Netherlands, and inquisitor and censor of books. (Translation of P. Verheyden's article by W.W. Sawyer.)

accounts in various languages dealing primarily with Charles V; 3. literary works, and dictionaries in Latin by Antonio de Nebrija and 4. miscellaneous works on religious and philosophical subjects.

In the first group we find, among others, Apuleius' *Historia del asno de oro* (1951), Cicero's *Libro de los oficios*, *de la amicitia y de la senectud* (1545), Homer's *De la Ulysea* (1550 and 1556), and a number of Seneca's works including his *Proverbios y sentencias* (1552)[31].

31 Steelsius and other printers of Antwerp worked with a number of translators some of whom, like Martin Cordero de Valencia, were part of the large Spanish colony in the city, and others who after an initial contact with the Antwerp printers seemingly returned to Spain. Some of the translators who worked with Steelsius were Diego López de Cortegana, Gonzalo Pérez, Juan de Járava, Fernando de Acuña, Pedro Hurtado de la Vera, Francisco de Támara and Fernán Núnez de Guzmán. Diego López de Cortegana's translation of Apuleius' *Asno de oro* is, according to Menéndez Pelayo 'un modelo de gracia y frescura.' (*Los orígenes de la novela*, IV, 260). The Antwerp edition was the third printed in the 16th century. Since the *Asno de oro* had been condemned by the Inquisition, it is interesting to find it unexpurgated among the few classics published by Steelsius. Pellicer tells us that the Royal Council of Castile, not wanting to deprive the public of such an entertaining book, had it cleansed of its 'impurities', and published it in Alcalá de Henares in 1584. The censor had, however, gone too far in his task and disfigured the work, altering both content and style. (*Ensayo de traductores españoles*, 49). López de Cortegana was Archdeacon of Seville. Evidently considering that his ecclesiastical dignity would suffer by his association with Apuleius' work, he 'masked' his identity by means of a series of Latin verses. (Pellicer, *Ensayo*, 47-9). According to Menéndez Pelayo, López de Cortegana was an Erasmist who probably translated Aesop's *Fables*, Erasmus' *Colloquies* and perhaps other anonymous works published by Cromberger in Seville. M. Bataillon considers López de Cortegana as one of the most brilliant minds of the time, and cites his contribution to the diffusion of classical authors such as Cicero and Seneca. (*Erasme et l'Espagne*, 53-4).
Gonzalo Pérez' translation of Homer's *Odyssey* is, according to Menéndez Pelayo, 'estimable para su tiempo por la fidelidad pero muy tosca y desaliñada en la versificación.' (*Orígenes de la novela*, II, 164). The *Odyssey* was frequently used as a literary model by writers of historical novels, and Pérez' translation was used by Jerónimo de Arbolanchas for his work *Las Hávidas*. Gonzalo Pérez is an interesting secondary figure in the history of Spain. After studying Latin and Greek at the Colegio de Oviedo in Salamanca, he began an ecclesiastical career which he soon abandoned for that of secretary to Charles V. With the king and Philip II, Pérez went to Flanders and England. It is possible that his contact with Steelsius was made at that time. After the death of Charles V, Philip II blocked the appointment of Perez to a high ecclesiastical position. Gonzalo's unhappiness is evident in letters he wrote to Cardinal Granvela and to Margarita of Austria. He complains of the king's ungratefulness after his 37 years of service to the crown. Gonzalo's son Antonio, succeeded him as secretary to the king. In a 'noticia', he gives a detailed account of the library of his father, which contained a large number of 'libros antiquísimos, latinos y griegos', and which on account of its quality was requested by Philip II for the Royal Library in El Escorial. (*Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, XIII, p. 531-49).
Another notable Spaniard associated with Steelsius is Francisco de Támara, professor of humanities in Cádiz, who translated Cicero's works. Menéndez Pelayo considers Támara's translations as deserving singular praise both for the fidelity with which he interprets Cicero's text, and for the purity and simplicity of his prose. In addition, Támara translated the *Aphotegms* of Erasmus. (Antwerp, Nutius, 1553), and a 'collection of chronicles of the world, (Antwerp, Nutius, 1553). He is also the author of *Suma de erudición de grammática en lengua castellana* (Antwerp, Nutius, 1550), of which Menéndez Pelayo says 'es libro de peregrina rareza' (*Biblioteca de Traductores Españoles*, IV, 275).
Finally we should mention Fernando de Acuña, of noble Portuguese ancestry, who distinguished himself as an outstanding soldier in Charles V's army. The emperor had

The second group of books dealing mainly with Charles V, include works on the genealogy of the emperor, on his expedition to Africa and on his belic efforts. Most of these books are in Latin.

The third group contains various dictionaries by Nebrija, in Latin, and some of the most popular literary works of the time such as Antonio de Guevara's *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Juan de Mena's *Las trescientas*, the works of Juan Boscán and some of Garcilaso de la Vega, and the *Diana enamorada* by Gaspar Gil Polo. Included are also the famous *Historia de México* of Francisco López de Gómara and Pedro de Cieza de León's *Crónica del Perú.*

The printing of books in Spanish and in other languages about Spain by the Steelsius family totals 38 titles from 1533 to 1575, out of 283 titles. It is a considerable amount of effort evoted to things Hispanic. If to Steelsius' contribution we add those of other Antwerp printers, we realize the exceedingly important part they played in the diffusion of Spanish letters. It is true that Spain's rule in Antwerp must have exerted a great deal of influence on the decisions of its inhabitants. We also know from Peeters-Fontainas

translated into Spanish prose the book of Olivier de la Marche *Le Chevalier délivéré*, and asked Acuña to put it in verse. Acuña is, according to Menéndez Pelayo, an elegant poet who shines particularly in what he calls ‘poesie de societé’, He also translated parts of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and of Boiardo's *Orlando inamorato.*
Nicolas Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, and Pellicer mention Pedro Hurtado de la Vera, Antonio Rodriguez Dávalos, Fernán Núñez de Guzmán and Juan de Járava who also translated works published by Jean Steelsius.

that Martin Nutius was probably visited by the king Charles V and his son Philip II. Their wishes or commands probably determined the printing of certain volumes. The reading tastes of the large Spanish colony in the city certainly seem to have prompted Martin Nutius to print the *Cancionero de romances* in a 'pocket book' edition. But whether shrewd commercial sense, political pressure or humanistic interest made Steelsius, Nutius, Bellerus, Laet, Plantin and others commit so much time to the printing of Hispanic texts, their names should be part of the intellectual baggage of every Hispanist.

Appendix

The following is a list of the books published by Jean Steelsius and his descendants from 1533 to 1575, relating to Hispanic matters. This list has been extracted from a bibliography of Steelsius published by C.J. Nuyts in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, XIV-XV, 1858. The titles are listed chronologically.

1. Caroli V Caesaris genealogia. Antverpia pud Steelsium, 1536, in 8^{o}.
2. La triumphante entrée de Lempereur nostre sire Charles le cincquiesme tousjours auguste, faicte en sa tres-noble cité de Rome, avec ses significations des epitaphes triumphantz et figures auctentiques, etc., Anvers, Steelsius, 1536. In 4^{o}.
3. Historiarum veteris instrumenti Icones ad viuum expressae, una cum breui, sed quoad fieri potuit, dilucida earundem expositione. Antverpiae, apud I. Steelsium. M.D.XL. In 4^{o}. Imagenes de las historias del Viejo Testamento al viuo exprimidas y representadas juntamēte con una breue declaracione dellas quanto puede ser.
4. Libro avreo de Marco Aurelio, emperador, y eloquentissimo orador, nueuamente corregido, M.D.XL. Vendese en Enueres por Iuan Steelsio, en el Escudo de Borgona. In 8^{o}.
5. D. Caroli V. Imperatoris expedition in African ad Argieram: Per Nicolavm Villagagnonem equitem Rhodium Gallum. Ad D.G. Bellaium Langaeum Subalpinarum gentium prorogem et primi ordinis equitem apud christianissimum Francorum regem. Antverpiae, ex officina Ioannis Steelsii, anno a Christo nato, 1542, mense Aprili. In 8^{o}.
6. Ivstino clarissimo abreviador de la hostoria general del famoso y excellente historiador Trogo Pompeyo. En la qual se contienen todas

las cosas notables y muy dignas de memoria que hasta sus tiempos han succedido en todo el mundo. Traduzido en lengua castellana. En Anvers, en casa de Iuan Steelsio, a.o de 1542. In 8º.

7. Libros de Marco Tvlio Ciceron, en qve tracta de los Officios, de la Amicicia y de la Senectud, con la Economica de Xenophon, traducidos del Latin en Romance Castellano, por Francisco Phamara [Tamara] catedratico de Cadiz. Añadieronse agora nueuamente los Paradoxos y el Sueño de Scipion, traduzidos por Iuan Iaraua. En Anvers, en casa de Iuan Steelsio. (Without date, probably 1545). In 8º.
8. Dicionarivm AElij Antonij Nebrissensis iam denvo innvmeris dictionibvs locvpletatvm. Cvi prater omnes aeditiones, avtoris eiusdem accessit Medicu Dictionarum hastenus nondum typis cuulgatum, a Ludovico Nunio philosopho, ac doctore medico peritissimo, a mendorum colluuie, qua scatebat, defaecatum: cuius dictiones reliquis intertextas, praefixu hoc signum indicabit. Dictionarium vero propriorum nominum tum prodit auctius et locupletius, vt pene aliud factum videatur. In quo multa locorum nomina Hispan. seu vulgari nomenclatura illustrata, caq; scorsum in dictionarium locorum hispanicolatinum redacta sunt: vt inde omnibus historiarum studiosis non minus voluptatis quam vtilitatis accedere possit. Antverpiae, In aedibus Iohannis Steelsij, Anno a Chsisto (sic) nato, M.D.XLV. Mense Iunio. Cvm Privilegio Imperiali. In-4º.
9. Dicionarivm oppidorvm, civitatym, montium, flvviorvm, fontivm, lucvvm, promontiorum, portuum, sinuum et insularum in ordinem Alphabeti redactum, et ab Antonio Nebrissensi collectum. Cvi accessere nomina propria virorym, mvliervm, sectarum, idolorum, syderum, ventorum, et reliquorum, vt sunt stagna, paludes, etc., quibus vt lectori statim manifesta essent hoc signum.. praefiximus. In nominibvs avtem oppidorvm, fluuiorum, populorum et aliorum, recentem uulgarem nomenclaturam quae nobis haberi potuit adiecimus. Antverpiae. In aedibus Ionnis Steelsij, Anno a Christo nato M.D.XLV.
10. Libro de los officios, de la amicitia y de la senectud de Ciceron, con la economia de Xexophon, traduzidos en romance castellano por Juan Jarava. Anvers, Juan Stelsio, 1549. In-16.
11. Libro de vidas y dichos graciosos, agudos y sententiosos, de muchos notables varones griegos y romanos, ansi reyes y capitanes, como philosophos y oradores antiguos; añadiose la tabla de Cebetes, philosopho: por Iuan Iarava. En Anvers, Iuan Stelsio, 1549. In-8º.
12. Clarissimi viri D. Lvdovici ab Avila et Zvniga, militiae Alcantarensis praefecti, Commentariorum de bello germanico, a Carolo V Caesare maximo libri duo, à Gulielmo Malinaeo Brugensi latine redditi, et iconibus ad historium accommodis illustrati. Antuerpiae, in redibus Ioan. Steelsij, M.D.L. Cum priuilegio. In-8º.
13. Commentario de Luis de Avila y Çuniga... de la guerra de Alamaña, hecha de Carlos V, en el ano 1546 y 1547. Anvers, Iuan Steelsio, 1550. In-8º.

14. De la Ulysea de Homero XIII Libros traduzidos de griego en romance castellano, por Gonçalo Perez. Anvers, I. Steelsio, 1550. In-8°.
15. Historia de Lucio Apuleyo, del asno de oro, repartida en onze libros, y traduzida en romance castellano. En Anvers, en casa de Iuan Steelsio, M.D.LI. Con priuilegio imperial. In-8°.
16. Libros de Lucio Anneo Seneca, en qve tracta I. De la vida bienauenturada. II. De las siete artes liberales. III. De los preceptos y doctrinas. IIII De la prouidencia de Dios. V. De la misma prouidencia de Dios, traduzidos en castellano, por mandato del muy alto principe, el rey don Iuan de Castilla, de Leon el segundo. En Anvers, en casa de Iuan Steelsio, M.D.LI. Con pruiilegio imperial. In-8°.
17. Proverbios y sentencias de Seneca y de don Ynigo Lopez de Mendoça, marquez de Santillana, glosados por Pedro Diaz de Toledo. Anvers, Steelsio, 1552. In-8°.
18. Las trecientas, glossadas por Fernan Nuñez, etc. Anvers, Iuan Steelsio, 1552. Pet. in-8°, de 580 pages.
19. Francisci Taraphae Barcinon, de origine ac rebus gestis Regum Hispaniae liber, multarum rerum cognitione refertus. Antverpiae, in aedibus Ioannis Steelsii, M.D.LIII. Cum privilegio caesareo. In-8°.
20. Dictionarium propriorum nominum; additae sunt ad caleem vulgares locorum appellationes, alphabetica serie vice versa digestae (auct. AElio Antonio Nebrissensi). Antverpiae, Ioannes Steelsius, 1553. In-4°.
21. El cavallero determinado traduzido de lengua francesca en castellana por don Hernando de Acuña. Anvers en casa de Iuan Steelsio, 1553. In-4°.
22. Dichos y echos notables del sabio rey D. Alonso de Aragon y de Naples, traduzidos del latin de Eneas Silvio, por Ant. Rodriguez Davalos. En Amberes, Steelsio, 1554. In-8°.
23. Chronica del Peru, que tracta la descripcion de sus Provincias, las fundaciones de sus ciudades, los ritos y las costumbres de los Indios, etc., por Pedro de Cieza de Leon, con estampas. Anvers, Steelsio, 1554. In-8°.
24. Las obras de Iuan Boscan y algunas de Garcilasso de la Vega, repartidas en quatro libros. Anvers, Iuan Steelsio, 1554. In-12.
25. Historia de Mexico, con el descvbrimiento de la nueva España, conquistada por el muy illustre y valeroso principe don Fernando Cortes, marques del Valle, escrita por Francisco Lopez de Gomara clerigo. Añadiose de la nuevo (sic) descripcion y traça de todas las Indias, con vna tabla alphabetica de las materias y hazañas memorables en ella contenidas. En Anvers, en casa de Iuan Steelsio, 1554 Con priuilegio. In-8°.
26. El cavallero determinado traduzido de lengua francesca en castellana por don Hermando de Acuna. En Anvers, Iuan Steelsio, 1555. In-8°.

27. Alphonsi a Castro Zamorensis, Ordinis Minorum Regularis Obseruantiae, Prouinciae Sancti Iacobi, aduersus omnes Haereses, Libri XIIII. Opvs hoc nvnc postremo ab avgore recognitum est, et tam multis ab eo locis supra omnes priores aeditiones auctum atq. locupletatu est, vt merito nouum opus censeri possit, prout auctor ipse in epistola nuncupatoria aperte demonstrat; quae addita sunt, pagina septima per breuem epistolam reperics. Antverpiae, in aedibus Ioannis Steelsij, anno M.D.LVI. Cum gracia et priuilegio. In-fol.
28. Alphonsi a Castro Zamorensis, ordinis minorum regularis obseruantiae, Prouinciae Sancti Iacobi, aduersus omnes Haereses, Libri XIIII. Opvs hoc nvnc postremo ab avtore recognitvm est, et tam multis ab eo locis supra omnes priores aeditiones auctum atque locupletatu est, vt merito nouum opus censeri possit, prout Auctor ipse in Epistola Nuncupatoria aperte demonstrat, quae addita sunt, pagina septima per breuem epistolam reperies. Antverpiae, in aedibus Ioannis Steelsij. Anno M.D.LVI. Cum gratia et privilegio. In-fol.
29. La Ulixea de Homero, traduzida en lengua castellana, por el Secretario Gonçalo Perez. Anvers, Iuan Steelsio, 1556. In-8^{o}.
30. Historia de las cosas de Etiopia en la qval se eventa muy copiosamente, el estado y potecia del Emperador della (que es el que muchos an pensado ser el Preste Ivan), con otras infinitas particularidades, assi de la religion de aquella gente, como de sus cerimonias; segun que de todo ello fue testigo de vista Francisco Aluarez, capellan del Rey Don Manuel de Portugal. Agora nucuamente traduzido de Portugues en Castellano, por el padre fray Thomas de Padilla. En Anvers. En casa de Iuan Steelsio, M.D.LVII. Con gracia y privilegio. In-8^{o}.
31. Historia del capitan D. Hernando de Avalos, marques de Pescara, recopilada por el maestro Valles. En Amberes, I. Steelsio, 1558. In-8^{o}.
32. Dictionarium latino-hispanicum et vice versa. AElio A. Nebrissensi interprete. Antverpiae, Ioannes Steelsius, 1560. In-4^{o}.
33. Dis historie ende het leuen vanden Aldermachtichsten ende victorieusten Roomschen Keyser, Kaerle de vijfde van dien name: Inden welcken niet alleen beschreuen en zyn de hooghe ende seer vrome feyten vanden seluen prince, maer oock de principaelste saken die ouer alle de werest binnen synen tyt gheschiet zyn. Eestmael in Italiaensche sprake beschreuen, door Alonso de Ulloa, nv nieuwelijck in nederlantsche duytsche sprake ouergheset. Thantwerpen, in den Schilt van Bourgoignien, in de Cammerstrate, by we weduwe en de erfghenamen van Jan Stelsium, M.D.LXX. Met coninelijek privilegie. In-fol.
34. Comedia en prosa, intitulada: Doleria del sueño del mundo, por Pedro Hurtado de la Vera. En Anvers, los herederos de Iuan Stelsio, 1572. In-12.
35. Historia lastimera del principe Erasto, hijo del emperador Diocletiano, en la qual se contienen muchos exemplos notables, y discursos no

menos recreativos, que provechosos y necessarios, traduzida de italiano en espagnol, por Pedro Hurtado de la Vera. En Anvers, herederos de Iuan Steelsio, 1575. In-12.

36. Libro aureo de la vida y cartas de Marco Aurelio emperador y eloquentissimo orador. Añadiose de nuevo la table de todas las sentencias y buenos dichos, que en el se contienen. Anvers, biuda y heredes de Iuan Stelsio, 1574. In-12.
37. Exemplario contra los Engaños.... con la vida y Fabulas de Isopo. En Anveres, en casa de Iuan Steelsio. In-8^{o}.
38. Primera parte de Diana enamorada; cinco libros que prasequien los siete de la Diana de Jorge Monte Mayor: por Gasp. Gil Polo. En Anveres, Gil Stelsio, 1574. In-12.

Christoffel Plantin (1520-1589) toongever van Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)

door Dr. J. Kluyskens
(Antwerpen)

Op Plantins verstrekkende invloed op Lipsius' leven werd herhaaldelijk gewezen. Voor B. Rekers wist de Antwerpse drukker de befaamde Zuidnederlandse humanist over te halen het calvinistische Leiden te verlaten om naar het rooms-katholieke kamp over te stappen om zijn roem van geleerdheid in dienst te stellen van de Leuvense universiteit[1]. Een laatste glans schonk hij immers, naar L. Voet laat opmerken, aan zijn oude Alma Mater die nog enkel een afschaduwing was van vroegere tijden[2]. Dit partijkiezen was echter door Plantin, met de medewerking van Laevinus Torrentius, de bisschop van Antwerpen[3], en Nicolaus Oudaert[4], secretaris van de Mechelse aartsbisschop Jan Hauchin, zorgvuldig voorbereid[5].

1 B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598. Studie over een groep spiritualistische humanisten in Spanje en de Nederlanden*, *op grond van hun briefwisseling*, Groningen, 1961, p. 171.
2 L. Voet, *De Gouden Eeuw van Antwerpen. Bloei en Uitstraling van de Metropool in de zestiende eeuw*, Antwerpen, 1973, p. 409.
3 Laevinus Torrentius (van der Beken) (1525-1595), werd op 29 juni 1576 tot bisschop benoemd. Pas in 1587 kon hij het bestuur van het hem toegewezen bisdom in handen nemen (cfr. M. Delcourt en J. Hoyoux, *Laevinus Torrentius. Correspondance*, 3 dln., Parijs, 1950-1954.
4 Nicolaus Oudaert († 1608), Latijns dichter en humanist. Cfr. BN XVI, kol. 382-383.
5 J. Kluyskens, ‘Laevinus Torrentius als humanist, wegwijzer van Justus Lipsius’, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 55, Antwerpen, 1972, p. 77-88.

M.A. Nauwelaerts zijnerzijds wees op de innige vriendschapsbanden tussen beiden, die uitbloeiden in een steeds verzekerd onderlinge steun[6]. G. Güldner oordeelde dat Plantins diepe godvruchtigheid duurzame weerklank heeft gevonden in Lipsius' geloofsovertuiging[7]. H.D.L. Vervliet ten slotte duidde op Plantins daadwerkelijke hulp aan de jonge Lipsius. Het eerste werk van de veel belovende eenentwintigjarige humanist, de 'Variarum lectionum libri IIII, werd immers in 1569 bij de Antwerpse drukker uitgegeven[8].

In zijn autobiografie, die hij in 1600, op 52-jarige leeftijd voor de Antwerpse humanist Joannes Woverius[9] schreef, verzekerde Lipsius dat, vurig naar Italië verlangend om zich in de studie van de klassieke Oudheid te vervolmaken[10], hij zijn eersteling aan Granvelle had opgedragen. Hierdoor insinueerde Lipsius derhalve dat hij op persoonlijke uitnodiging van de invloedrijke kardinaal naar Rome was getrokken. Zijn bewering kon hij kracht bijzetten, vermits in de eerste uitgave van 1569 hij van Plantin gedaan kreeg dat de voorrede nog ongedateerd was, en hij in de volgende uitgaven (resp. 1585, 1596, 1600) de opdracht steeds liet antedateren: 1 juni 1566. Daar deze datum als een fictie dient aangezien te worden, mag men het voor zeker nemen dat Lipsius ongenood naar Rome is gegaan. Toch was zijn komst niet helemaal onvoorbereid en kwam de jongeling niet onverwachts bij Granvelle aankloppen. In een brief van 13 oktober 1567 had Plantin in bedekte termen de bescheiden financiële middelen geschetst en zich lovend uitgesproken over het karakter van de veel belovende Lipsius, die

6 M.A. Nauwelaerts, 'Humanisten rondom Plantin', *Noordgouw*, IV, Antwerpen, 1964, p. 21.
7 G. Güldner, 'Das Toleranz-Problem in den Niederlanden im Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Studien*, 403, Lübeck-Hamburg, 1968, p. 129.
8 H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Lipsius' Jeugd 1547-1578. Analecta voor een kritische Biografie', *Medelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen*, *Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, XXXI, (1969), p. 13-24.
9 Joannes Woverius (van den Wouwere) (1576-1635), financiële raadgever, diplomaat, humanist. Cfr. BN XXVII, 408-410.
10 P. Bergmans, 'L'Autobiographie de Juste Lipse publiée avec une traduction française et des notes', *Messager des sciences historiques de Belgique*, LXIII, 1889, p. 146 (verder geciteerd als 'Autobiogr.').

op de uitkijk stond naar een Maecenas, bereid gevonden om hem goedwillig te Rome steun te verlenen[11].

Uitzonderlijk was trouwens een dergelijke aanbeveling niet: de Antwerpse drukker stond immers in voortdurend contact met Granvelle, die Plantin nuttige relaties bezorgde in de invloedrijke romeinse kringen[12].

De weg naar de roem[13] werd Lipsius derhalve wel degelijk door Plantin gebaand. Niet alleen in concrete omstandigheden, op beslissende ogenblikken, heeft Lipsius zich door zijn vriend laten leiden, doch op zijn gedachtenwereld is Plantins geestesleven overwegend geweest. Innig met hem verbonden zal de humanist de drukker diep erkentelijk blijven. Getuige zijn laatste brief uit Leiden aan zijn Antwerpse vriend verstuurd: '...non vivum magis amavi, quam postea vere vivum amabo'[14].

De contactname te Rome met vooraanstaande humanisten als Latinius Latinus, Fulvius Ursinus, is beslissend geweest voor Lipsius' verder filologisch werk. Op het eerste gezicht althans, werd hij in het romeinse milieu niet geïntroduceerd door Plantin, doch door Cornelius Valerius'[15] aanbevelingsbrief van 19 augustus 1568[16] voor Marcus Antonius Muretus[17]. Wij mogen echter veronderstellen dat de Leuvense professor zijn discipel in de romeinse kringen steun wilde verlenen door zijn recommendatiebrief te richten tot de Franse humanist, daar een aanbeveling aan Granvelle hem overbodig leek, vermits Plantin de komst van de begaafde jongeling bij de kardinaal reeds had voorbereid.

Al was Plantin vóór alles een gewiekt zakenmens, hij bleef steeds, als bezieler van het 'Huys der Liefde', de onvermoeibare

11 M. Rooses, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, III, Antwerpen, 1911, p. 26-27, nr. 345 (verder geciteerd als 'Corresp.').
12 M. Van Durme, 'Plantin, Granvelle et quelques documents inédits ou non publiés dans la correspondance', *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, p. 88-103.
13 'Autobiogr.', p. 146.
14 J. Lipsius, *Cent. misc.*, II, p. 192, ep. 73 (niet gedateerd).
15 Cornelius Valerius (van Auwater, Oudewater) (1512-1578), latinist, humanist. Cfr. H. De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, 1517-1550, Leuven, 1954, III, p. 270-281.
16 M.A. Muretus, *Epistolae*, Parijs, 1580, p. 51-52.
17 Cfr. C. Dejob, '*Marc Antoine Muret*, *un professeur français en Italie dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle*', Parijs, 1881.

drager van een godsdienstig idee[18]. De lieden die tot deze spiritualistische sekte behoorden, waren volgelingen van Hendrik Niklaes[19], doch omstreeks 1568 voltrok zich een scheuring in de 'Familia Caritatis'[20]. De leiding ging over op Hendrik Janszoon Barrefelt[21]. De feitelijke leidsman der spiritualisten, de grote drijver, was echter Plantin, die tot in zijn laatste levensuur de geïnspireerde sekteleider trouw bleef. Barrefelts brief van 10 juni 1589 aan de stervende Plantin geadresseerd, levert hiervan een aangrijpend bewijs[22].

Dat deze onwrikbare gehechtheid aan de geest van het Huys der Liefde gepaard ging met de diepste vroomheid en geruststelling van geweten, leest men af uit de brief die de zieltogende drukker op 19 juni aan Lipsius adresseerde. Deze met bevende hand geschreven boodschap aan zijn vriend, is een ontroerend document van hun onderlinge gezindheid, van hun religieuze geestesverwantschap[23].

De sekteleden stonden onverschillig tegenover de gevestigde kerken en plaatsten zich boven de dogma's om verdraagzaamheid te prediken[24]. Na de dood echter van Niklaes blijven vrijwel allen, inzonderheid Plantin, naar de katholieke traditie neigen[25]. Deze gezindheid zal trouwens ook in Lipsius' laatste levensperiode, na zijn terugkeer naar Leuven in 1591, determinerend zijn. Plantins katholieke geloofsovertuiging in zijn stervensuur bleef in Lipsius'

18 H.F. Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen betreffende Christoffel Plantin's houding op godsdienstig en politiek gebied', *De Gulden Passer*, 18, 1940, p. 87-141.
19 Cfr. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg i. Br., 1931, III, kol. 953.
20 B. Rekers, *op. cit.*, p. 141-142.
21 M. Sabbe, 'Les rapports entre B.A. Montanus et H. Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)', *De Gulden Passer*, 4, 1926, p. 19-43.
22 *Corresp.*, VIII & IX, p. 528-530, nr. 1468.
23 A. Gerlo-H.D.L. Vervliet-I. Vertessen, *La Correspondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus. Introduction*, *Correspondance et Commentaire*, *Documents*, *Bibliographie*, Antwerpen, 1967, p. 13-14, nr. 10 (afgekort als 'La Corresp. de Juste Lipse').
24 L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiana at Antwerp*, I, *Christophe Plantin and the Moretuses: their lives and their world*', Amsterdam, 1969, p. 24; *De Gouden Eeuw*, p. 409.
25 B. Rekers, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

geest en gemoed diep nawerken. Getuige zijn brief van 15 mei 1594 aan Frans van Ravelingen, Plantins schoonzoon, geadresseerd: 'Mortuus ille vivit'[26].

Over de gedachtenwereld van Plantin worden wij vrij goed ingelicht door enkele brieven, daterend uit 1567, aan de Franse orientalist Guillaume Postel[27] gericht. Elkeen heeft het volste recht zich in geweten, vrij een eigen mening te vormen over gecontroverseerde godsdienstige vragen. Tevens heeft hij het recht zijn standpunt bij anderen uit te dragen. Vervolging derhalve van andermans visie of gedrag dient beslist afgekeurd te worden, daar in een divergerende opinievorming het laatste woord steeds aan de naastenliefde toekomt[28]. Plantins hoofdbekommernis was dus de verdraagzaamheid. Hij stond een praktisch irenisme voor, dat zich verzette tegen iedere toepassing van dwang, omdat hij er geen heil, noch voor de christelijke noch voor de politieke gemeenschap, van verwachtte. Redding voor een verscheurde christenheid en uiteengerukte gemeenschap was nog alleen in de evangelische naastenliefde te zoeken. Begrip immers voor andermans overtuiging kon leiden tot het overbruggen van theologische twistpunten. 'Wanneer zij spreken over "caritas"', schrijft M.A. Nauwelaerts, 'bedoelen zij een ondogmatische, niet-roomse, kerkelijk indifferente levenshouding; hun gezindheid staat niet ver van een quiëtistisch getint neostoïcisme'[29].

De dringende noodzakelijkheid van verdraagzaamheid, van begrip voor ieders standpunt, de nooddrang van het irenisme, dat Plantins ideeënwereld voedde, treffen wij tevens bij Lipsius aan. In zijn 'Politica' van 1589 stelde hij overduidelijk dat een overhaast optreden tegen andermans afwijkende gezindheid doorgaans een zware vergissing is, daar het samenleven met anderen soms wense-

26 G.H.M. Delprat, *Lettres inédites de Juste Lipse concernant ses relations avec les hommes d'état des Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas principalement pendant les années* 1580-1597. *Publiées avec une introduction et des notes au nom de l'Académie royale des Sciences à Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1858, p. 75, nr. 47.

27 Cfr. W.J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi. The career and thought of Guillaume Postel (*1510-1581*)*, Cambridge, 1957, p. 1-29.

28 Cfr. *Corresp.*, I, p. 80-81, nr. 30; p. 155, nr. 72.

29 M.A. Nauwelaerts, 'Humanisten rondom Plantin', p. 13.

lijker is dan ontijdig olie op het vuur te gieten[30]. Een veroordeling derhalve van de andersdenkenden, op grond van hun geloofsovertuiging, wees hij beslist af. Kernachtig vatte hij zijn standpunt samen in hetzelfde werk: 'Fides suadenda est, non imperanda'[31]. Door Plantins gedachtenwereld moet de Zuidnederlandse humanist in een dusdanige stemming gebracht zijn en zich dermate met deze één gevoeld hebben, dat hij hem niet losliet. Aan G. Postel had de Antwerpse drukker de raad gegeven in de godsdienstbeleving de nadruk te leggen op het inwendige[32]. Lipsius zijnerzijds raadde de lezer van zijn 'Politica' aan, in de Godsverering steeds de nadruk te leggen op de inwendige gesteltenis[33]. Voor beiden waren twee dingen van fundamenteel belang: geloof en innerlijke cultus.

Bij de vaststelling van een opvallend parallelisme in de benadering van de religieuze problemen dient de vraag gesteld of Lipsius door Plantins bemiddeling tot de sekte der spiritualisten is toegetreden. Uitdrukkelijk gewaagt hij, noch in zijn werken noch in zijn briefwisseling, van medewerking tot het welslagen van de onderneming. Een dergelijk stilzwijgen lag trouwens volledig in de lijn van de bezorgdheid van alle sekteleden om alles wat betrekking had op hun illegaal bestaan zorgvuldig geheim te houden.

Lipsius' vriendschap met Plantin, de bescherming die hij van de invloedrijke drukker genoot, zijn gedachtenwereld in de jaren 1568-1572, wettigen de hypothese van een vroegtijdige toetreding van Lipsius tot de Antwerpse sekte der spiritualisten.

In zijn studietijd te Leuven (1564-1568) was Lipsius intiem bevriend met Victor Giselinus[34], die in 1564 proeflezer geworden was bij de Plantijnse drukkerij[35]. Lipsius die toen reeds aan

30 J. Lipsius, 'Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex, qui ad principatum maxime spectant', *Opera Omnia*, IV, (Antwerpen, 1637), p. 47b: 'Tu iterum iterumque vide, an non convivere interdum melius, quam 'intempestivis remediis, delicta accendere' (cfr. C. Tacitus, *Annales*, XII, 54).

31 *Ibid.*, p. 48a.

32 *Corresp.*, I, p. 86-89, nr. 33.

33 J. Lipsius, *Politica*, p. 19a. Cfr. J. Kluyskens, 'Twee zestiende-eeuwse werken; één verreikende strekking: Cassander en Lipsius', *De Gulden Passer*, L, 1972, p. 1-10.

34 Victor Giselinus (Ghyselinck) (1539-1591), humanist, latinist, geneesheer. Cfr. BN VII, kol. 787-792.

35 *Corresp.*, I, p. 110-111, n. 3.

publiceren dacht, kan door zijn vriend bij Plantin zijn geïntroduceerd. Met zekerheid weten wij dat Lipsius later, in 1584, Giselinus wilde laten overkomen naar Leiden. Doch, naar wij vernemen uit een brief van 8 januari 1584 aan Janus Lernutius[36], stuitte hij op verzet om hem een professoraat aan de universiteit te bezorgen[37]. Was Lipsius' bemoeiiing bedoeld als een wederdienst aan een geestverwant en medelid der sekte?

Al verzwijgt hij angstvallig zijn toetreding tot de Antwerpse spiritualisten, toch toont hij bijwijlen zijn sympathie voor sekteleden en treedt hij gewillig hun standpunten bij. Met Pedro Ximenes[38], die aan zijn boek 'Des trop rigoureuses peines à l'endroit des sectaires' werkte en bij Plantin, zijn geestverwant, enige jaren lang een gastvrij onderkomen vond[39] sympathiseerde Lipsius. Op 6 november 1584 schreef hij immers aan Dominicus Lampsonius[40], dat Ximenes' streven naar de verwezenlijking van de 'unio christiana' hoogst waardevol was[41]. Zijn belangstelling voor de standpunten der spiritualisten verwoordde hij nog uitdrukkelijker in een brief van 7 september 1586 aan zijn oud-student en vriend Theodoor van der Leeuwen. Diepe afkeer heeft hij van de ziekelijke twistzucht in de religieuze problemen. In de huidige omstandigheden is een ruim begrip van andermans geloofsovertuiging een dringende en harde noodzakelijkheid. Hij stemt derhalve volledig in met Tertullianus' woord: 'Religionis non esse religionem cogere'[42].

Trouw aan de geest van het Huys der Liefde heeft Lipsius steeds gezocht naar verzoeningsmogelijkheden om de uiteenlopende

36 Janus Lernutius (Jan Leernout) (1545-1619), Latijns dichter. Cfr. H. Van Crombruggen, 'Janus Lernutius (1545-1619). Een biografische studie', *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen*, *Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België*, *Klasse der Letteren*, nr. 23, 1955.

37 P. Burman, *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi V*, Leiden, 1727, I, p. 12, nr. 10 (verder afgekort als 'Sylloge').

38 Hij schreef de *Demonstrationes Christianae Catholicae veritatis.* Hij gaf zijn werk nooit uit (cfr. G. Güldner, *op. cit.*, o. 120-121).

39 B. Rekers, *op. cit.*, p. 139-140.

40 Dominicus Lampsonius (1532-1599), Latijns dichter, humanist, filoloog, secretaris van de bisschop van Luik. Cfr. BN XI, kol. 228-233.

41 P. Burman, *Sylloge*, I, p. 130, nr. 125.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 43, nr. 40 (cfr. Q. Tertullianus, *Ad Scapulam*, 2, 2).

confessionele meningen te overbruggen. Zich wel bewust van de uitzonderlijke rol die de politieke gezagdragers konden en moesten spelen, gaf hij hun derhalve in de 'Politica' de rijp overwogen raad steeds op menslievendheid en toegevendheid te zijn bedacht[43]. In zijn laatste werk over de staatkunde anderzijds, bij de valavond van zijn leven, in de in 1605 uitgegeven 'Monita et exempla politica', verzoekt hij de vorsten zich immer te spiegelen aan de idealen van zachtmoedigheid en van vergevensgezindheid, daar deze deugden de vader van een gemeenschap hoogst sieren[44].

Wij stellen derhalve duidelijk vast dat tot in zijn laatste levensjaren het irenisme Lipsius' hartewens is gebleven[45]. Ondanks een onloochenbare evolutie in zijn denken en voelen, die hem, na zijn terugkeer uit Leiden, naar een roomse belijdenis bracht, bleef hij immer aan zijn oospronkelijke visie houden, waaraan de geest van het Huys der Liefde niet vreemd was. In zijn geestesevolutie volgde hij Plantins voetspoor, die de katholieke orthodoxie aanhing, in de overtuiging dat het katholicisme de veiligste waarborg voor zijn gewetensvrede bood, doch inmiddels protestantse werken in diep geheim drukte tot verspreiding van de gereformeerde belijdenis, ijverig aan de Polyglotbijbel werkte, die, in zijn ogen en breedheid van denken, in dienst zou staan van zijn levensdroom, de 'unio christiana'. Spijt zijn ruime blik die een verzoening der confessionele partijen beoogde, staat Plantin in zijn laatste levensjaren zó op de bres voor het nauwkeurig naleven van de katholiekroomse godsdienst, dat hij het zijn schoonzoon Hans Spierinck[46], die te Hamburg leeft, kwalijk neemt de gereformeerde belijdenis aan te hangen, en hem dringend verzoekt weer katholiek te worden en met zijn dochter Catharina naar Antwerpen terug te keren[47].

Gelet op Plantins gedragslijn doet het dan ook geenszins verwonderlijk aan dat hij alles in het werk heeft gesteld om Lipsius uit

43 J. Lipsius, 'Politica', *Opera Omnia*, IV, p. 116a.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 245b.
45 Cfr. J. Kluyskens, 'Justus Lipsius' levenskeuze: het irenisme', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 87, (1973), p. 19-37.
46 Catharina Plantin trouwde in 1571 te Parijs met Jan Gassen. Weduwe geworden, trad zij te Antwerpen in het huwelijk in 1575 met Hans Arents, alias Spierink (cfr. *Corresp.*, I, p. 175, n. I.).
47 *Ibid.*, VIII & IX, p. 373, nr. 1356.

Leiden weg te halen en hij zich geen rust gunde vooraleer hij van zijn vriend de verzekering kreeg dat hij vast besloten was zich aan het calvinistische milieu te onttrekken. Toen Lipsius in 1586 zijn voornemen te kennen gaf de universiteitsstad te verlaten, gaf Plantin in een brief van 9 oktober uiting aan zijn diepe vreugde, overtuigd dat N. Oudaert zich om Lipsius' terugkeer naar het Zuiden oprecht met hem verheugde[48]. Wanneer echter kort daarop Lipsius naar Leiden terugkeerde, ging zijn vreugde in bittere teleurstelling over, en vertrouwde hij op 24 januari 1587 aan dezelfde correspondent toe, bereid te zijn persoonlijk zijn vriend af te halen[49], daar goede raad vruchteloos bleek te zijn[50]. Lipsius' afwezigheid viel hem zeer zwaar, verzekerde hij op 28 mei 1587 aan dezelfde Oudaert[51]. Hij was immers stellig overtuigd, naar wij vernemen uit een brief van 26 augustus van hetzelfde jaar aan Andreas Schott[52], dat de befaamde humanist in de geest met zijn geloofsgenoten in het Zuiden leefde[53].

Al oordeelde Lipsius, dat zijn rectorale verplichtingen hem aan de Leidse universiteit bonden[54], toch bleef Plantin aandringen op een spoedige terugkeer, van mening dat Lipsius' opdracht aan de universiteit, hoe eervol ook, een uitstel niet wettigde[55]. In de laatste, boven aangehaalde, brief van juni 1589, smeekte ten slotte de stervende Plantin zijn vriend het calvinistisch geloof af te zweren[56]. In een ontroerend antwoord schreef Lipsius hem, dat hij Plantins brief lang had gekust, en deze boodschap zorgvuldig zou bewaren als een onderpand van hun zeer innige vriendschap. Daarop beloofde hij plechtig te zullen uitvoeren wat van hem gevraagd

48 *Ibid.*, p. 65, nr. 1155.
49 *Ibid.*, p, 129-130, nr. 1199.
50 *Ibid.*, p. 174, nr. 1225 (brief van 18 maart 1587).
51 *Ibid.*, p. 226, nr. 1258.
52 Andreas Schott (1552-1629), filoloog, lid van de jezuïetenorde. Cfr. BN XXII, kol. 1-14; J. Fabri, ‘Un ami de Juste Lipse, l'humaniste André Schott (1552-1629)’, *Les Etudes Classiques*, XXI, (1953), p. 188-208.
53 *Corresp.*, VIII & IX, p. 283, nr. 1295.
54 *Ibid.*, p. 324, nr. 1324.
55 *Ibid.*, p. 377-378, nr. 1359.
56 *La Corresp. de Juste Lipse*, p. 13-14, nr. 10.

werd; de wens van zijn vriend was hem een bevel dat hij immer zou indachtig blijven[57].

Lipsius' plechtmatige belofte was derhalve de bezegeling van Plantins driejarige onverdroten campagne om van de befaamde humanist de verzekering te krijgen én van zijn terugkeer naar de Spaanse Nederlanden én van zijn gehechtheid aan de roomskatholieke godsdient.

In Plantins overtuiging kon dergelijke verknochtheid nochtans gekoppeld worden aan een onwrikbare trouw aan het Huys der Liefde. Deze houding zal trouwens Lipsius in zijn levensjaren bezielen en voor zijn levensevolutie toonaangevend zijn. Naast talrijke aanwijzingen die zijn sympathie voor de sekte verraden, benevens menigvuldige standpunten die duiden op een uitgesproken parallellisme met de spiritualisten, beschikken wij over een merkwaardig getuigenis van een buitenstaander, Adriaan Saravia[58], Lipsius' vriend en collega te Leiden. Deze gaf immers in een brief van 20 oktober 1608 aan Richard Bancroft, aartsbisschop van Canterbury, geadresseerd, niet slechts een sprekend bewijsstuk van Lipsius' toetreding tot de libertijnse sekte, die, in zijn ogen, onder de kennelijke bezieling stond van Plantin[59], doch tevens een helder, aanschouwelijk, bondig en rijk synthesebeeld ter verduidelijking van Lipsius' geesteshouding inzake geloofsovertuiging. Zijn breedheid van denken en zijn scherpe blik op de verschillende confessionele richtingen der christenen was Saravia fel opgevallen. Raak noteerde hij dat in religieuze twistpunten zijn ruimdenkend collega verkoos geen partij te kiezen of geen kleur te bekennen,

57 *Corresp.*, VIII & IX, p. 280, nr. 1294. De brief is niet gedateerd. Denucé oordeelde dat hij waarschijnlijk in augustus 1587 werd geschreven (*ibid.*, p. 281, n. 1). A. Gerlo en H.D.L. Vervliet daarentegen zijn van mening dat Lipsius' brief een antwoord is op Plantins brief van 19 juni 1589 (A. Gerlo-H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Inventaire de la Correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564-1606', Antwerpen, 1968, p. 88).

58 Adriaan Saravia was rector der Leidse universiteit in 1586, waar hij theologie doceerde (cfr. P.C. Molhuysen, 'Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit (1574-7 feb. 1610)', 1, *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publikatiën*, nr. 20, 's-Gravenhage, 1913, p. 124; G.D.J. Schotel, '*De Academie te Leiden in de 16e*, *17e en 18e eeuw*', Haarlem, 1875, p. 68.

59 H. Van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en 'Het Huis der Liefde', *De Gulden Passer*, 28, (1950), p. 115.

wellicht om zijn talrijke vrienden, die er uiteenlopende meningen op nahielden, niet te kwetsen[60].

De vraag kan echter gesteld of deze uitzonderlijke getuige volledig betrouwbaar is. Saravia's objectieve analyse van de leer van Niklaes en Barrefelt biedt een afdoend bewijs van zijn kritische zin en van zijn geloofwaardigheid om tot een onverdacht getuige van Lipsius' toetreding tot de sekte der spiritualisten te worden genomen, al geeft hij over de tijd van de opneming echter geen enkele aanduiding. De Leidse theoloog was op een loutere vaststelling van Lipsius' deelneming aangewezen, daar hij immers van de sekteleden geen enkele vingerwijzing mocht verwachten. Het verzwijgen van concrete aanwijzingen kan niet als ongewoon worden aangezien, daar zij uiterst voorzichtig waren om niets van hun illegaal bestaan te laten doorschemeren aan het waakzaam oog van de politieke en geestelijke gezagdragers. Men kan het immers voor zeker nemen dat, wanneer Plantin als grootmeester van de Antwerpse spiritualisten, iemand in zijn libertijnse vriendenkring opnam en hem meteen in bescherming nam, hij hem steeds op de collectieve veiligheid wees, vooral sinds hij in 1563 naar Parijs had moeten vluchten om aan de Inquisitie te ontkomen[61].

Een tastbare aanwijzing van Plantins omzichtigheid met politieke heersers treffen wij aan in een brief van 8 oktober 1586 aan zijn vertrouweling N. Oudaert. De eerste bladzijde alsmede de dedicatie aan Philip Sidney (1554-1586), van Lipsius' 'De recta pronunciatione latinae linguae dialogus' (1586) heeft hij weggescheurd: zij werden immers tegen zijn wil in aan het werk toegevoegd[62]. Een loflied aan het adres van de jonge gouverneur van Vlissingen, waarin Lipsius diens bekommernis voor de Verenigde Provincies hoogdravend bezong[63], kon de drukker van het werk bij de Spaanse overheid in opspraak brengen en tevens

60 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

61 A.J.J. Delen, *Christophe Plantin imprimeur de l'Humanisme*, Brussel, 1944, p. 17-18.

62 *Corresp.*, VIII & IX, p. 59, nr. 1152.

63 J. Lipsius, *De recta pronunciatione latinae linguae dialogus ad illustrem Philippum Sidneium, equitem*, Antwerpen, 1586, p. 3. Noteren wij dat in een brief van 30 augustus Lipsius bij Sidney uitkwam voor zijn onwrikbare vaderlandsliefde (Cf. J.A. van Dorsten, *Poets, patrons, and professors*, Leiden, 1962, p. 217-218).

een terugkeer van de auteur naar de Zuidelijke Nederlanden bemoeilijken. Op alles bedacht, bleef Plantin trouwens met Sidney vriendschappelijke betrekkingen onderhouden[64].

Een karakterloze weerhaan in religiosis, zoals H. Bonger Lipsius meende te mogen typeren[65], was de befaamde humanist allerminst: zijn gedragslijn beantwoordde integendeel aan een wel overwogen opzet. In de vinnige geloofstwisten wilde Lipsius zich niet compromitteren, doch wel bewust, in navolging van Plantin, naar een verzoeningspolitiek streven.

Voor wie derhalve terugblikt op de afgelegde weg is het duidelijk dat Lipsius' bekommernis geheel beheerst werd door zijn verzoeningsdrang[66]. Wie deze veronderstelling afwijst, moet natuurlijk ook Lipsius' godsdienstigheid van de hand wijzen. Voor wie echter bereid wordt gevonden te erkennen dat de ideeën van het 'Huys der Liefde' immer in zijn leven hebben gespeeld, kan Lipsius' gedachtenwereld als een waardevol sluitend geheel worden bekeken. Al structureerde Lipsius een van humanistisch standpunt beschouwd uitzonderlijk verzoeningsprogramma, toch moet worden toegegeven dat Lipsius' visie van een te vergaand optimisme niet vrij te pleiten is. Hij oordeelde immers dat dialoog en discussie volstonden om de uiteengerukte confessionele problemen te overbruggen[67]. Al bleven Plantin en Lipsius vereenzaamd in hun overtuiging, dat voor de verscheurde christenheid een oplossing kon worden bereikt, bleef de tragedie van de uiteengerukte christenheid bestaan.

Toch blijven hun ideeën van openheid, van ruimheid van opvattingen en van verdraagzaamheid in de geestesgeschiedenis der Nederlanden en van Europa een constante kracht vormen.

64 M. Van Durme, *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, Antwerpen, 1955, p. 224-225, nr. 195 en 196.

65 H. Bonger, *De motivering van de godsdienstvrijheid bij Dirck Volckertszoon*, Arnhem, 1954, p. 23, n. 2.

66 Cf. J. Kluyskens, 'Een bijdrage tot de benadering van een zelfde optiek: Erasmus en Lipsius over christendom en verdraagzaamheid', *Handelingen XXVII der Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, Langemark, 1973, p. 181-206.

67 J. Lipsius, 'De una Religione', *Opera Omnia*, IV, p. 165b-166a.

Onversaagd bleef Lipsius zijn levensdroom gestand. Tijdens zijn verblijf in het lutersche Jena, gedurend zijn dertienjarig professoraat in het calvinistische Leiden, tenslotte in het rooms-katholieke Leuven heeft hij Europa met een uitzonderlijk humanistisch cultuurpatrimonium verrijkt en onverdroten zijn tijdgenoten gewezen op de absolute noodzaak van een religieuze verzoening en politieke verstandhouding.

Uit Lipsius' gedachtenwereld is Plantin niet weg te denken. Getroffen door het geweld dat Europa, tengevolge van de godsdienstige broedertwisten, overspoelde en doordrongen van de dringende noodzakelijkheid van de evangelische naastenliefde[68], gaf deze zijn levensboodschap aan de begaafde en befaamde humanist door. In het voetspoor van zijn meester hechtte Lipsius derhalve alleen waarde aan de essentialia van het geloof, in het Evangelie ondubbelzinnig uitgedrukt[69], en verlangde hij een heraut te zijn van de vrede[70]. Het Lipsius zo vaak verweten gebrek aan godsdienstige standvastigheid[71], en de ogenschijnlijke onverschilligheid jegens het godsdienstig geschil, moeten derhalve duidelijkheidshalve overtrokken worden door zijn humanistisch vredesideaal, erfgoed van Plantin en van Erasmus[72]. Deze laatste vertrouwde op 11 november 1520 toe aan zijn vriend Jodocus Jonas, die naar Luther wou overstappen: ‘ik bevorder de goede studie, ik bevorder de evangelische waarheid, en dat zal ik zwijgend doen, als ik het in het openbaar niet mag’[73].

Het wel overwogen relativeren van de stellingen der uiteenlopende christelijke confessies bij de beide spiritualisten Plantin en Lipsius ontsproot derhalve aan dezelfde bron. Beiden hebben zij

68 *Corresp.*, I, p. 86-87, nr. 33.
69 Cf. J. Lipsius, ‘Oratio de Concordia’ in Th. Sagittarius, *Lipsius Proteus ex antro Neptuni protractus et claro soli expositus*, Frankfort, 1614, p. 62.
70 Cf. J. Lipsius, ‘De Cruce libri tres ad sacram profanamque historiam utiles. Una cum notis’, *Opera Omnia*, III, p. 677.
71 H.T. Oberman, ‘Van Leiden naar Leuven; de overgang van Justus Lipsius naar eene Roomsche universiteit’, *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S., 5, 1908, p. 295-304.
72 Cf. C. Augustijn, ‘Erasmus, Vernieuwer van kerk en theologie’, *Theologische Monografieën*, Baarn, 1967, p. 84-87.
73 P.S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Oxford, 1922, p. 375, ep. 1157, r. 10-12.

zich gericht naar het eendrachtsideaal van Erasmus, die zijn levensovertuiging in zijn onverdroten streven tot de hereniging van de verscheurde christenheid neerschreef op 5 januari 1523 in de opdrachtbrief van zijn Hilariuseditie aan Jan Carondelet[74]: 'Het belangrijkste van onze godsdienst is vrede en eensgezindheid. Deze kan nauwelijks bestaan, tenzij wij omtrent zo weinig punten mogelijk definities opstellen en in vele dingen aan ieder zijn oordeel vrij laten'[75].

Naar het voorbeeld van zijn geliefde toongever Plantin, loopt door Lipsius' leven de gouden draad van een breeddenkend christelijk humanisme dat eerbied vroeg voor de menselijke persoon, dat zich bewust losrukte uit de politieke en religieuze strijd. Lipsius heeft zijn tijd het besef van de zinneloosheid dezer twisten, van de dringende noodzakelijkheid van de verdraagzaamheid willen bijbrengen. Aan de verspreiding van dat ideaal heeft hij geofferd de sereniteit der studie in zijn geliefd Brabant en het geluk van een vreedzaam in eigen rangen onbesproken leven. Getuige van de achterdocht van zijn omgeving, Lipsius' bekentenis van 5 augustus 1591 aan Jacob Monau[76], dat vrome en wijze mensen argwanend zijn verblijf te Leiden duldden[77]. Bezield echter door zijn verzoeningsideaal schreef hij op 27 juli van hetzelfde jaar aan Dionysius Villerius[78]: 'Ieder dient de gemeenschap op zijn manier, dit is mijn krijgsdienst. Ik acht hem niet roemloos noch onvruchtbaar, zo ik er in slaag, als een klaroenblazer, anderen met mijn pen en mijn woord op te wekken tot de Deugd en de Wijsheid'[79]. Deze heerlijke opdracht heeft hij volbracht.

74 Jan Carondelet (1469-1545), aartsbisschop van Palermo, voorzitter van de Raad van State en hoofd van de Geheime Raad onder Karel V (M. Baelde, 'De Collaterale Raden onder Karel V en Filips II (1531-1578). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Centrale Instellingen in de zestiende eeuw', *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen*, *Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België*, *Klasse der Letteren*, XXVII, 1965, nr. 60 p. 245-246,).

75 P.S. Allen, V. p. 177, ep. 1334, r. 217-219.

76 Jacob Monau (Monavius) (1546-1603), filoloog, een der beroemdste geleerden uit de zestiende eeuw (cfr. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 22, kol. 162-163).

77 P. Burman, *Sylloge*, I, p. 425, nr. 392.

78 Dionysius Villerius (1544-1620), genealoog, kanunnik te Doornik (cfr. V. Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Leuven, 1643, p. 190-191).

79 J. Lipsius, 'Cent. Belg.', II, ep. 4.

Plantins oordeel over zijn vriend Lipsius aan Benito Arias Montano[80] in een brief van 7 december 1585 blijft derhalve in het erfgoed van het humanisme nog steeds naklinken: ‘Lipsius ille piissimus, modestissimus, doctissimus...’[81].

Christophe Plantin (1520-1589) animateur de Juste Lipse (1547-1606)

Plantin a tracé la voie au jeune Lipse en l'introduisant à Rome chez le cardinal Granvelle. Il a suivi l'humaniste aux carrefours de sa vie mouvementée. Plantin, l'inspirateur de la secte spiritualiste, ‘Familia Caritatis’, a façonné l'esprit de Lipse dans les lignes maîtresses de cette secte: l'esprit de tolérance, la liberté de conscience. Ce qui implique le droit de choisir librement sa conviction religieuse. Nous retrouvons ces points de vue dans les oeuvres de Lipse, e.a. dans les *Politica.* ‘Fides suadenda est, non imperanda’, lui est une règle de vie. S'inspirant de Plantin, Lipse a fait sienne, au cours de sa vie, l'idée de Tertullien: ‘Religionis non esse religionem cogere’.

A l'exemple de Plantin, Lipse adhéra, au soir de sa vie, à la religion catholique-romaine tout en restant inébranlablement fidèle à l'esprit de tolérance, à l'irénisme.

A eux deux ils s'efforcèrent de défendre un humanisme basé sur le respect des convictions d'autrui, de promouvoir la réconciliation dans les luttes religieuses et politiques que traversèrent nos régions au XVIe siècle.

La dernière lettre de Lipse à son ami Plantin est un témoignage émouvant de son attachement à l'homme qui inspira toute sa vie: ‘...non vivum magis amavi, quam postea vere vivum amabo’.

80 Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598), kapelaan van Filips II. In 1567 door de koning belast met het toezicht op de *Biblia Polyglotta.* In 1576 tot bibliothecaris benoemd van El Escorial (cfr. B. Rekers, *op. cit.*, p. 19-41).

81 *Corresp.*, VI, p. 234, nr. 1052.

Boekbespreking

Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, *Comentarios sobre el Catechismo christiano. Edición crítica y estudio histórico por José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras.* Libro commemorativo del Año Internacional del Libro. 2 dln. Madrid 1972 (= Biblioteca de autores cristianos maior, 1-2). Ps. 575.-

In het begin van 1558 verscheen bij Martinus Nutius of Nuyts te Antwerpen de hierboven genoemde uitleg van de katholieke Catechismus. De zware foliant is een uiterst zeldzaam boek geworden: Peeters-Fontainas noemt in zijn *Bibliographie* slechts een zevental exemplaren. Wie de moeite neemt zich naar het Museum Plantin te begeven of naar de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te Brussel om het werk in te zien, denkt een incunabel vóór zich te krijgen, zózeer doet de statige uitvoering daaraan denken.

De 'kritische editie' die wij hier bij de lezer introduceren is de bijdrage van Spaanse zijde aan het 'Internationale Jaar van het Boek', waartoe 1972 was uitgeroepen. Tevens werd zij de eerste uitgave van een nieuwe, grote reeks, de '*Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos declarada de interés nacional*', die staat onder de auspiciën en hoge leiding van de Pauselijke Universiteit van Salamanca.

Niet zonder reden uiteraard koos Spanje juist dit theologisch werk om de herdenking van het jaar van het boek te vieren. Tellechea Idígoras, hoogleraar in de kerkgeschiedenis te Salamanca en kenner van Carranza bij uitstek, maakt in zijn prachtige inleiding van niet minder dan honderd bladzijden volkomen duidelijk welke de betekenis was van het boek in de 16e eeuw en welke de bedoeling is van de heruitgave in onze tijd: het werk doet nl. in de theologische twisten en verscheurde meningen binnen de R.K. Kerk sinds het Tweede Vaticaans Concilie merkwaardig modern aan.

De bewerker, die meer dan twintig jaren zich verdiept heeft in de persoon en door hem gevonden geschriften van de aartsbisschop van Toledo, heeft het geluk gehad het manuscript dat door Nutius is afgedrukt, te vinden in het Archivo Histórico Nacional te Madrid. Het is voorzien van aanwijzingen voor de zetter. Uit het manuscript blijkt verder overduidelijk dat de oorspronkelijke tekst heel wat wijzigingen heeft ondergaan van stijlkritische aard alvorens het uit handen werd gegeven. Zij zijn aangebracht door Juan Páez de Castro, een veelzijdig geleerde met een bijzondere voorliefde voor de klassieke talen, die wel eens 'het prototype van de spaanse humanist van de 16e eeuw' is genoemd (97). Hij veranderde tal van archaïsmen in de schrijfwijze der woorden, maar bracht ook herhalingen aan of andere woorden die de redactie verbeterden. Soms werd hierdoor de betekenis van een zin gewijzigd - niet zonder belang voor een werk met theologische inhoud waar het aankomt op een nauwkeurige terminologie. Maar zelfs wanneer hij hele zinnen wijzigde, bleef hij trouw aan de oorspronkelijke tekst. In het tekstkritisch

apparaat zijn deze vele wijzigingen alle genoteerd! Ook Carranza zelf bracht hier en daar nog veranderingen en aanvullingen aan. Een derde hand is eveneens aan het werk geweest, doch wijzigingen van belang met de gedrukte tekst zijn hier niet te constateren; in enkele gevallen zijn zij niet door de drukker overgenomen, zodat zij vermoedelijk eerst na de druk van het boek zijn aangebracht.

Carranza heeft zijn *Comentarios sobre el Catechismo christiano* geschreven tijdens zijn verblijf in Engeland, waar hij met Filips II vertoefde sinds 1554 en één van de voornaamste bewerkers werd van de restauratie van het katholicisme onder Maria Tudor (16-21), ook nadat de toekomstige koning van Spanje in 1555 was vertrokken naar Vlaanderen. Hij begon aan het werk op het eind van 1555 (51). Toen Filips in 1557 nog enige maanden in Engeland was en dan in juli weer vertrok, ging op zijn bevel Carranza mee naar Brussel. Daar werd hij kort daarna benoemd tot aartsbisschop van Toledo, het belangrijkste en tevens rijkste diocees van Spanje, en op 27 februari 1558 door Granvelle gewijd. Slechts enkele personen feliciteerden hem niet; een van hen was de Franciscaan Bernardo de Fresneda, de biechtvader van Filips. Fresneda werd kort daarna een der kernfiguren in het drama dat zich in augustus 1559 rond de nieuwe prelaat zou gaan afspelen (24-25; 40).

Toen werd Carranza immers op bevel van de inquisiteur-generaal Francisco de Valdés gearresteerd op beschuldiging dat een aantal uitlatingen in de *Comentarios* niet rechtzinnig zou zijn. Het daarna volgende, langdurige proces doet hier ter plaatse verder niet ter zake (zie *De Gulden Passer* 50, 1972, 68-70).

Tussen juli 1557 en februari 1558 moet Nutius het grote werk van Carranza gedrukt hebben (26). Later maakte de auteur toespelingen op drukfouten (52-53). Tellechea Idígoras heeft ook het geluk gehad het originele koninklijk privilege van 6 juni 1557, gegeven te Londen, te vinden. Hij drukt de volledige tekst voor het eerst af (51-52), omdat deze in de uitgave slechts in verkorte vorm is weergegeven.

Het boek is, zoals gezegd, uiterst zeldzaam geworden. Naar eigen zeggen zond Carranza zelf twee dozijn exemplaren van de Nederlanden uit naar Spanje. Toen hij daar aankwam, had hij er zeven of acht bij zich, die werden bewaard in een koffer, en één gebruikte hij persoonlijk om er nog correcties in aan te brengen; twee exemplaren die in zijn bisdom in omloop waren, trok hij in (56-57). Vervolgens bezat uiteraard Filips II het boek evenals Don Carlos, terwijl drie personen van adel, die met Carranza in betrekking stonden, eveneens het boek bezaten. Van twee hunner, onder wie Don Carlos, weten wij echter dat zij het direkt aan de Inquisitie moesten afstaan (3). Ten slotte had de schrijver in de Nederlanden de jezuiet Salmerón de *Comentarios* ten geschenke gegeven. Een enkel zeldzaam geraakte nog in Rome. Al met al waren dus rond veertig tot vijftig exemplaren in omloop. Toen Carranza de Nederlanden verliet had hij de drukker bevolen de rest van de oplage te bewaren totdat uit Spanje bericht zou komen om ze al dan niet in de handel te brengen. Te Valladolid aangekomen, schreef hij aan een hem bekende koopman alles tot zich te nemen en te zorgen dat geen enkel exemplaar naar Spanje zou worden gezonden: de drukker was voor zijn werk geheel betaald (56-57). In 1559 stond het boek reeds op de Index zoals deze door De Valdéz was opgesteld, dus vlak na de arrestatie, zonder officiële veroordeling...

Hiermee is voldoende duidelijk dat een moderne heruitgave van dit boek van Carranza wel op zijn plaats is. ‘Het was het meest omstreden boek in het Spanje van

de 16e eeuw', zegt Tellechea Idígoras, terwijl het een van de beste in zijn soort van de katholieke theologie in geheel Europa was (4; 5).

Carranza schreef met een ‘uitgesproken anti-ketterse bedoeling’ (50). Aan het monnikenwerk van deze uitgave met haar ontelbare tekstnoten en bijbelverwijzingen - de auteur zelf gaf de plaatsen nooit aan - is vele, vele jaren met eindeloos geduld gearbeid. Daarom is het niet zonder belang op te merken dat Spanje *dit* boek in 1972 als ‘boekgeschenk’ aan de wereld schonk, terwijl Duitsland toen een gemoderniseerde uitgave van Luther's Bijbel voor dit doel gebruikte.

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